20¢ DECEMBER 12, 1949

# New Republic

## TITO'S REVOLUTION

First of two articles by FRANK GERVASI

## HOW TO LIVE WITH THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS

AN EDITORIAL

## ANTI-HISTAMINES AS COLD CURES

By BRUCE BLIVEN

## ART BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS

By LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

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New Republic



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## WASHINGTON WIRE

CROWDS IN THE SHOPS, loudspeakers on the streets appealing for charity, and the melancholy tinkling of the Salvation Army Santa Claus tell us that the merry Yuletide is here once more. President Truman, in Florida, prepares his State of the Union message. The Administration's sudden announcement that no more FHA home financing will be available to support racially restricted properties underlines the fact that civil-rights legislation will be high again on the President's list of "musts." There will be a big new Administration drive on Taft-Hartley, too, not with the expectation of getting legislation but to ready the issue for November's Congressional elections.

**Meanwhile** J. Parnell Thomas faces sentence. All the time the patriotic flags draped the Congressional office of this "100-percent American" he was mulcting his own "secretarial staff" by taking salary kickbacks. We have been digging into our files on Thomas, and those eulogies of the "forthright American" in the patrioteering Hearst and McCormick press look odd now. In contrast is the analysis of Thomas in the May 18, 1942, issue of the *New Republic*, noting that he had voted against fortifying Guam, the Military Appropriations Act and all the other preparedness and international measures. This magazine characterized him then as "a reactionary isolationist . . . a rubber-stamp to Dies on the Dies Committee."

It was obvious from the first what sort of man Thomas was. What a crew they have been—Ham Fish, Martin Dies, John Rankin and Parnell Thomas! Fish was defeated; Dies thought it wiser to retire; Thomas is sentenced. Only Rankin, in his feudal Congressional district, is beyond reach, but even he is now off the Un-American Activities Committee. Thomas was the son of a small-time Irish Democratic politician named Feeney. He changed his name, he changed his politics, he changed his religion. Now he will change his residence.

**Raymond Moley** in his column in *Newsweek* and Arthur Krock in the New York *Times* suggest that the Republicans need some organization like Americans for Democratic Action to attract idealistic youth and get the party out of its two-decade slump. With such praise, it looks as though the ADA has really arrived.

Just to start the "GOP-ADA" off, Senator Bricker (R, Ohio) lets it be known that he will work all next session to cement a formal coalition with the Dixiecrats. Now that is something to bring flaming youth trooping to Republican ranks! What mountains idealistic (GOP) youngsters will climb, under that banner with its strange device, Rankin and Bricker!

**We sit and brood** over the forthcoming departure of Truman's liberal counsel and ghost-writer, handsome, able Clark Clifford. Frankly we don't like it, or the reasons given. The thesis is that Clifford can't afford to stay at his government salary when he could easily earn $100,000 a year in Washington law practice. The Alsop brothers say it is all brutally simple: Clifford can't continue "to eat roots." Clifford originally got $12,000 a year, but this has just been upped to $20,000. You get pretty good roots for $20,000.

Clifford had Truman's ear and has been one of the most powerful men in America. He has been one of the strongest liberal forces. He is down in Florida now, helping with the January

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speeches. Any White House attaché with Clifford's inside knowledge can of course always quit and cash in to a merry tune if he cares to; the Capital is filled with fixers who are without a fraction of Clifford's experience. But what motives animate a man anyway? Wealth can do no more than give prestige and power and an infinitesimal chance of altering history. Clifford has all these attributes and opportunities already. If he is really quitting for the reason given, we are sorry for him; if he is quitting because of some hidden clash in the inner palace circle, we are sorry for ourselves.

**Henry J. Taylor,** the anti-British radio commentator sponsored once a week by General Motors, believes in free enterprise. In nervous, apostolic prose he deplores most other countries because they don't have free enterprise. The Federal Trade Commission has just issued an anti-monopoly cease-and-desist order against Taylor requiring him to practise free enterprise. Seems he has collected $1.3 million over 14 years from 30 manufacturers who thought he had essential patents—which he didn't—in a waxed-paper wrapping device. Doing business under a firm's name, he cheerily went ahead licensing, dividing territories and price-fixing—and, of course, extolling free enterprise. We look forward to many more inspirational GM broadcasts from Henry (waxed-paper) Taylor.

**Notes.** Eisenhower is talking more and more like a Presidential candidate; now he is attacking the Washington "liberal" who wants "to play the Almighty with our money." . . . We think the A&P is cutting its own throat in its political ads attacking the government's anti-trust action; failure to note that it has already been found guilty in a criminal suit will react against it when readers learn the facts. . . . More and more it looks like a boom ahead; Reserve Board governors fear the Treasury is weakening anti-inflationary brakes by persisting in its cheap-money policy.

*Washington* T. R. B.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Pacifism and Science

SIR: In filing my application for citizenship, the question came up whether I would be willing to bear arms—*i.e.*, do military service if called upon. The point at issue in my case was whether I would, as a physicist, agree to do war research work if requested. The investigating officer of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the judge listened sympathetically to the points which I brought up to support my attitude to war. Now two years have passed with no reply from the court.

The question of citizenship or no citizenship is not of primary importance: more important is whether understanding can be reached about a problem which concerns more than a handful of scientists. Many of us look at science as an art whose deeper meaning is to make us understand the great plan which the Creator has designed for the natural world. Pure science is a search for truth; it is done in humility and in a spirit of love for one's fellow men. Such an outlook excludes using science for the purpose of wholesale killing of people. . . .

We scientists have been warning the world that atomic war must be abolished because it is inhumane, and because there is no defense and no survival for our civilization. Though we denounce war, we continue to work on the promotion of warfare. Is there any way of escaping this dilemma? Will a handful of people who are not afraid of material discomfort and who will return good for evil, if need be, be able to say "no" to war? It may "not make sense," it may "not be practical" today, but it will give us and our children a chance to live. Or is it already too late?

Personally I was lucky enough to have had polio in Germany when I was 16; thus to enter the normal military service was out of question. To refuse research work in the Nazi war machine was no ordeal. Nor to leave Germany, my home country, in 1937, as it obviously prepared for aggressive war of the worst sort. To refuse to join the military was so obvious a stand to take that even the proud Gestapo man who investigated me in a Nazi-controlled internment camp in France . . . understood it.

America is now my second home, to which I am deeply attached. The more I grow roots the more I feel the conflict common to scientists of all nations: can a scientist work for nothing but peace? Our institutions of learning have accepted money from the military. Is this entanglement going to be disastrous? . . . Contracts are given out by the armed forces to support applied and pure research work in science. Is the motive to further science or to intensify modern warfare? Let us dare to work, but for peaceful objectives; then our warnings against the atomic-armaments race will be listened to. The problem of today is not what is the most expedient—or perhaps the most foolish—"armed peace." It is rather a challenge to the individual conscience, to renounce war.

*Philadelphia, Pa.* HERBERT JEHLE

### Wheat Rots

SIR: The people of India are starving, while America's wheat surplus overflows storage space and America's merchant marine lies underemployed in port. This fantastic contradiction faces us on our return home this Thanksgiving season after six months in India. . . .

For lack of enough people with dollars to buy America's vast surplus of wheat, our government, which purchases the wheat to prevent a farm depression, is now spending more money to build great new storage depots. We hear that Victory Ships are being tugged down the Hudson River to be reconditioned as warehouses for unused wheat. But we cannot stockpile wheat like atom bombs: wheat rots. . . .

Let us remember that the Indian continent represents about one-fifth of the human race. The Chinese fifth of mankind has already gone Communist. What happens to India—whether it grows democratic or totalitarian—may decide the future of us all. Yet American policy sticks to Western Europe, and India has seen no vast lend-lease, no dollar loans, no UNRRA aid, no Marshall Plan.

Why not apply Christian principles to common sense and put our wheat to work for peace in a better investment than a dozen battleships? Let Congress vote that our food surplus, above a safe reserve level, is available free to groups outside the regular market, such as the children or the 10 million refugees in India.

This is an issue for the people and their organizations—particularly the churches, women's and other civic groups. This is something our statesmen might like to do if they thought the people were behind them. We believe the people will be ahead of them.

CLARE AND HARRIS WOFFORD JR.
*South St. Paul, Minn.*

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VOLUME 121, NUMBER 24, ISSUE 1828, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 12, 1949 **New Republic**

# LIVING WITH THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS

ANGUS WARD was the American Consul General in Mukden. In November, 1948, he was placed under house arrest by the Chinese Communists, who were then in control of Manchuria. For six months no charges were made against him. Then, in May, 1949, the Communist press and radio announced that Ward had directed an espionage ring with the aid of a short-wave-radio system. Several Chinese were arrested, and confessed to belonging to the spy ring. But still no charges were brought against Ward and the case apparently died.

The State Department was able to reach Ward and instructed him to close the consulate and return with his staff. He applied to the Manchurian Communists for permission to leave, and permission was granted. But Ward was unable to depart. No one could be found to move the consulate's property; the railways failed to provide transportation. Suddenly, in October, Ward and four members of his staff were arrested and jailed on charges of physical violence against a Chinese member of his staff. A final twist was given to the case when, at the time of Ward's release, the espionage charges were again raised and dropped against the Vice Consul, William Stokes.

The charges of violence we know nothing about. The charges of spying, to the Chinese, may seem to have some foundation. The Consul gathers information by legal means, the spy by illegal methods, and although the record of the American foreign service is clear, for many countries the dividing line is at best obscure. When Ward arrives in the United States his full story may be told. It would be unwise until then to speculate on its significance. Yet the American reaction to Ward's arrest has been so violent that even fragments of the incident are worth piecing together.

These facts, then, seem to be significant:

First, China is accomplishing the greatest economic, social and political revolution in her recent history. Since their comrades were killed by American guns and planes, the leaders of this revolution have every reason to hate the United States. Yet there has been almost no violence against Americans. There has been no illegal confiscation of American property in China. American businessmen who may have been roughhandled have none the less been treated in just the same way as Chinese businessmen. The Ward case is not the rule, but the exception to the rule.

Second, the Ward incident was altogether against the interests of the Chinese Communists. Their immediate ambition is to win recognition from the West. For the Communists, recognition means membership in the United Nations, added strength within China, final demoralization of the Nationalists, the breaking of the blockade and the resumption of trade. For the sake of these important objectives, the Communists have given high places in their government to men whose inclination is negotiation and compromise with the West. In turn, the West has been preparing to grant recognition. At the recent conference of experts called by the State Department, bankers, industrialists and old China hands agreed that recognition was necessary. Now, because of the bitterness aroused by the Ward incident, recognition may be delayed.

**It is possible** that the Chinese Communists, whose knowledge of the outside world is provided by Tass, the Russian news agency, had no concept of the reaction that Ward's arrest would cause in America. It is also possible that they believed that capitalist America would accept any humiliation in its mad desire to earn profits. Yet America has steadily reduced its representation in China until today there are only four consulates left. With few exceptions these officials and those of other nations have been treated very well by the Chinese Communists.

Manchuria is the region of China which is dominated by Soviet Russia. Russia alone holds major concessions in Manchuria. Russia has asserted her protection over Manchuria as well as Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang. The Communist leaders in Manchuria are Soviet-trained men. The arrest of Ward followed by three days the arrest of Amtorg officials in the United States. The charges against Ward repeated, phrase by phrase, Soviet charges of American spying in Eastern Europe. From the Soviet point of view, recognition of China by the West is less to be desired than the dependence of China on the

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USSR. For Russia, the Ward case may serve, first, to drive the United States out of Manchuria; second, to deepen the rift between the Chinese people and the American people; third, to divide America from the British Commonwealth. For if the British extend recognition while America withholds it, the old crowd in Congress can be relied on to drive the wedge of division as deeply as they can.

Whether or not the Russians were behind the Ward incident, they alone benefit from it, and the violence of America's reaction plays directly into their hands. At a critical moment in the developing relationship of the Chinese and American peoples, our policy is dictated by unreasoning anger instead of common sense.

**The Chinese Communists** are almost unchallenged today. Nearly all our experts believe that they will hold power for at least twenty years. If China, under their rule, passes completely within the Soviet world, then ultimately all Asia will follow. The one hope of a non-Soviet Asia is that the Chinese people will continue, even under their present rulers, to pursue their classical revolutionary objectives of national independence and industrial development.

The power of the West in aiding China to realize these objectives is still very strong. *Politically*, China has protected herself for centuries by maintaining alternatives in diplomatic policy. To forsake these alternatives in favor of unconditional subordination to Russia would be disastrous for China, as every Chinese knows. *Economically*, China's future lies in trade with the West. America has represented one-quarter of China's foreign trade. Japan, which remains in the Western world, is still more important to America, and China is vital to American-occupied Japan. Huge stocks of goods are accumulating in Japan today which China alone can buy. Without Chinese trade, Japan can live only by an American dole.

These facts are not unknown to our government. The American resolution introduced by Philip Jessup at the UN calls on all states for these, among other actions:

To respect the political independence of China;

To respect the right of the people of China now and in the future to choose freely their political institutions and to maintain a government independent of foreign control.

The trouble is that we cannot have it both ways. If this resolution is more than a cheap and sterile gibe at Russia, then it applies to the United States as well. Today the Russians may well ask: *Who is America to throw the first stone?*

For example, we are still shipping armaments to Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, although it is clear that Formosa will fall to the Communists by a combination of popular revolt and transfer of allegiance by its naval and air-force commanders. These actions should earn for their sponsors, Senator Knowland (R, Calif.) and Representative Judd (R, Minn.), the titles of honorary quartermaster-generals of the Communist armies.

We are further backing Chiang by tacit support of his blockade. We have refused to grant the blockade legal recognition because to do so when its claim to legality is so flimsy would set a dangerous precedent for America as a great sea-going and trading power. And yet we are giving unofficial support to the blockade by refusing to aid American ships in reaching Chinese ports. The blockade is effective in denying the Chinese people cotton yarn, wheat and petroleum. In supporting it for the sake of the disruption it causes we are arousing further hatred and bitterness toward America among the Chinese.

Either we can continue our recent policy of perpetuating chaos in China or we can attempt to regain the respect and friendship of the Chinese people by accepting the new status quo. We cannot pursue both policies at once with any chance of success.

**If there were** any hope of overthrowing the Chinese Communists, then the policy of promoting chaos, brutal as it is, might seem to have some justification. There is no such hope, and the policy of promoting friendship alone can serve America and peace. It requires a foothold in China, for all the intermediaries of good will: that is, it requires recognition.

Recognition of Communist China does not mean approval of the Communist regime. The doctrine that "recognition equals approval" is described by John Bassett Moore as "a preposterous and mischievous supposition . . . contrary to the elementary principles of international law."

Secretary Acheson has reëmphasized that recognition of any government rests on three tests:

It controls the country it claims to control.

It recognizes its international obligations.

It rules with the acquiescence of the people who are ruled.

These tests have been substantially met by China's new government. By failing to recognize it, we are actually following the policy of non-recognition that in the cases of Russia and Argentina proved to be useless and harmful.

Britain, India, France and many other nations seem certain to recognize the Chinese Communists by the spring of 1950. If America stands out alone, it will

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be because 1950 is an election year. Senator Bridges and his right-wing friends believe that the Republican Party lacks issues. Since they are unable to find genuine issues, they believe that China is a useful club with which to beat the Administration. They are willing to sacrifice America's future in China to partisan political advantage.

It is inevitable that there should be disagreements on America's foreign policy. These disagreements should be political issues, but not political footballs. Our China policy has been determined too long by domestic pressures and prejudices without regard to the merits of the situation in China. Today our divided China policy reflects divisions here, and not in China, where there is substantially none. If we are wise and bold, we shall disregard the tactics of political blackmail and recognize China's new government long before the November ballots are in.

# THE WEEK

## LILIENTHAL'S JOB

The selection of a successor to David Lilienthal as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission is being treated with unusual concern by President Truman. A wise choice is so essential that he is well advised to wait until he can find the best possible man for the position.

No crony, banker, or elder statesman will do this time. No demigod is required either. The new chairman of the AEC should be a forceful executive, but managerial ability is not the main qualification. The necessity for that kind of experience has actually been exaggerated; most of our atomic-energy enterprises today are run by the general manager of the Commission and his staff, and even they serve as a holding company for projects conducted by private companies and university laboratories.

What is most important is that the new chairman be a man devoted to peace who will not yield to every burst of pressure directed at him. He should be sensitive to the important relationship between the domestic and the international control of atomic-energy development. He should be capable of steering the program to maintain the dominance of civilian control in relation to the military without constant recourse to the President.

He should be sufficiently experienced in the practical workings of politics in a democracy to have good relations with Congress without always standing as a humble suppliant before it. Since our atomic activities are so much more than a series of technical secrets, the American people have a right to be assured, also, that the Atomic Energy Commission chairman is going to be candid in his relations with the public, that he will go as far as possible in making the people real partners in atomic activity.

A number of Americans possess these qualities in the desired quantity. President Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago; Dr. James B. Conant of Harvard; Chester Barnard; Philip Jessup; and Justice William O. Douglas occur to us as men highly eligible for consideration. Second-bests won't do.

## THE FEINBERG LAW

Seven American states have passed laws requiring loyalty oaths of teachers or other state employees or both—Arkansas, California, Kansas, Maryland, New Jersey, New York and Washington. The Maryland law was declared unconstitutional last August in a ringing decision by Judge Joseph Sherbow of Baltimore. "Law deals with overt acts, not thoughts," he said. "It may punish for action, not thinking. . . . Laws may not intrude into the realm of ideas, religious and political beliefs and opinions."

Now the Feinberg Law, the most recent enactment in New York State, has been similarly held invalid by Justice Harry E. Schirick of the State Supreme Court.

New York is so sensitive about loyalty among public officials that it has passed three laws—in 1917, 1939 and 1949—demanding certificates of purity.

The newest, the Feinberg Law, directed the Board of Regents to conduct a witch-hunt in the public schools and to dismiss all teachers or other employees found to be Communists or fellow travelers. This, says Justice Schirick, violates the state and federal constitutions. "Due process" is impaired in four ways, because of the law's vagueness, the procedures invoked, the presumption of guilt, and guilt by association. No improper act by any individual needs to be shown. The law assumes that the Communist Party is subversive, and that every Communist and fellow traveler is guilty of subversion. This constitutes a bill of attainder, says Justice Schirick, quoting the US Supreme Court in a ruling in 1866 which forbade "a legislative act which inflicts punishment without a judicial trial."

This case will now go directly to the New York Court of Appeals, the highest in the state. The Maryland decision on a similar law has also been appealed. Before very long we shall know whether the US Supreme Court, with its present personnel, recognizes the dangers to American institutions that are implicit when citizens can lose their jobs, and suffer other punishment, not for their acts but because they have been accused, rightly or wrongly, and without judicial process, of holding certain beliefs.

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### BENTON AND BOWLES

Chester Bowles, closing his first year as Governor of Connecticut, has chosen his former business partner, William Benton, of Southport, Connecticut, to succeed Raymond Baldwin in the US Senate. Baldwin, a Republican, will resign December 16 to become an associate justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors.

The selection of Benton has caused a sensation among Connecticut Democrats, but there is no open opposition to the Governor's choice. Representatives Chase Going Woodhouse and A. A. Ribicoff had both campaigned actively for the appointment. Democratic State Chairman John M. Bailey considered himself a candidate until Bowles pointed out privately that such a move would be labeled as purely political. Philip C. Jessup, of Norfolk, US Ambassador-at-large to the United Nations, reportedly was the Governor's first choice, but declined the appointment.

Benton, who is well known in Washington through his service as a leading official of the Office of War Information a few years ago and later as Assistant Secretary of State in charge, among other things, of developing "The Voice of America," is almost a stranger in Connecticut state politics. Few of the top-ranking Democrats there have met him, and he is officially not even a Democrat, having classified himself in the past as an independent. He says, however, that he voted for and financially supported the late President Roosevelt all four times and also helped President Truman politically and financially last year. After months of searching, Bowles turned to Benton as the available man who came closest to fulfilling the qualifications he thought essential: a wide grasp of national and international affairs, and the standing to be a "credit" to Connecticut in the Senate.

Benton will be the party's candidate for the Senate again in 1950, when the unexpired two-year portion of Senator Baldwin's term will be at stake. Senator Brien McMahon (D) will be running for reëlection to the full six-year term at the same time. By thus getting their 1950 ticket organized early, the Democrats have stolen a march on Connecticut Republicans, who are still waiting to hear whether Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce will honor them by accepting the Republican nomination to oppose McMahon.

## "Not Infallible, But a Statesman"

**by W. W. Waymack**

*When David Lilienthal resigned as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the* New Republic *asked W. W. Waymack to comment on the man and his work. Waymack, for many years editor of the Des Moines* Register and Tribune, *was a member of the Atomic Energy Commission from its beginning until he resigned a few months ago.* — THE EDITORS

AT THE OUTSET, dismiss the demigod or pure-hero concept. There are no perfect men, to be worshiped. But there are men of great qualities, immensely serviceable to society, who in society's own interest need to be appreciated and supported.

Two years and two months of close association with David Lilienthal on the Atomic Energy Commission produced in me three main reactions.

First, personal affection. Others who come really to know him commonly develop that. Sincerity and humaneness are probably to blame.

Second, respect for his mind. Some keen minds, fairly called able, lack "understanding." Lilienthal's does not. Insight, the ability to see implications, is part of his equipment.

Third, he knows and feels the liberal philosophy and the democratic way. He is an American patriot who understands what it is that he is patriotic about, what we want to preserve and strengthen. These are the central values, not merely pieces.

I think it is these basic things more than skill and experience in getting things done, though these should not be minimized, that have made him extremely valuable as a public servant in the TVA and the AEC.

I consider Lilienthal a statesman —not infallible, but a statesman. When the sound and fury of the moment are forgotten, as shortly they will be, the importance of that kind of contribution to our national problem of setting patterns for atomic-energy development will be duly appreciated.

Doubtless the "ordeal" character of the AEC responsibility for three years had its wearing-down effect, as it would have on anybody. The large part of that which was unnecessary, not inherent in the job, should concern us as a people, as it bears upon public service by others, including the others whom we shall need hereafter.

I assume that David Lilienthal will continue to be a public servant inevitably, as a citizen, and that, after more than 15 or 20 years of the abrasion of public responsibility, he will be invaluable in the freer role.

### NEW INTERNATIONAL

For several years there has been talk of a new non-Communist international organization of trade unions, since the WFTU is now so obviously under heavy Communist influence. These plans came to fruition last week when spokesmen for the trade-union movement in most of the free nations met in London. The new group will be called the Free World Labor Conference; as might be expected, it was heavily dominated by Great Britain

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and the United States. For once, the CIO and the AFL have coöperated loyally on a common project.

The most important news out of the first days of the meeting was that the Catholic trade unions will be admitted to membership. This had been opposed by the British and some of the Continental delegates, whose unionism is heavily tinctured with socialism. The struggle behind the scenes on this issue was given comic overtones by a sudden conciliatory gesture toward the Catholics by the Cominform. If the Communists believe they still have a substantial chance of capturing the Catholic trade-union movement, they will believe anything. It seems more likely that they were just going through the motions—for the record.

## PROPAGANDA CLINIC

"The American Medical Association won't leave a bone unturned in its efforts to defeat the government's health program," a doctor declared as the AMA opened the Third Annual Clinical Session in Washington early this week. The 175 delegates and more than 4,000 doctors attending the convention discussed ways of subjecting the public to an even bigger advertising campaign against President Truman's national-health-insurance legislation next year than last.

In addition to 200 clinical meetings and upwards of 100 scientific exhibitions, the annual AMA agenda included pep talks by Clem Whitaker, the AMA's $100,000-a-year press agent, to supply the medical men with ammunition against the health bill to take back home. The insurance companies have agreed to help the AMA's multi-million-dollar campaign by distributing 1.5 million anti-health-program pamphlets. The two powerful lobbies will begin their campaign with full-page ads in 12,000 daily and weekly newspapers. Such obvious lobbying has in the past been contrary to the ethical code against advertising by physicians, and Whitaker has indicated that the AMA is somewhat nervous about the public's reaction. The AMA is depending, of course, on editorial support by the newspapers carrying the ad, and charges of "bribery of the press" may arise.

While the AMA will direct its publicity against health legislation, the big insurance companies will promote the AMA-controlled voluntary health-insurance programs. (The medical lobby has long claimed that universal health insurance is not needed because private insurance companies can do the job. Last week Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing pointed out that only 69 percent of group-insurance premiums and only 39 percent of individual premiums are applied to health benefits.) Plans run by insurance companies return consumers little more than 50 cents on the dollar paid in while government insurance would probably pay back more than 90 cents on the dollar.

Among the largest insurance groups connected with the AMA is the National Association of Insurance Agents, with 20,000 independent agencies throughout the country. It has agreed to set up displays at its state conventions and place posters in agents' offices similar to those now plastered on most doctors' reception-room walls. Others openly participating in the drive include: the American Life Convention (composed of 227 of the largest life-insurance companies), the Provident Mutual Life of Philadelphia, the Bankers Life and Casualty Company, the Bankers National Life, and the Combined Insurance Company of America. The International Association of Accident and Health Underwriters is setting up a bureau with 1,500 speakers. The cost of the campaign will run into millions—enough to provide adequate medical care for a lot of people.

## FOR IMPROVED LABOR LAWS

Fair Employment Practices legislation and repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act were the main topics under discussion at the sixteenth Annual Conference on State Legislation in Washington last week. Labor representatives from every state met with Secretary Maurice J. Tobin to discuss problems of labor law and reach common ground on improved standards.

FEPC was set back when the group defeated, 43-39, an amendment recommending that it be enacted at the "municipal, state and national levels, to the extent necessary to open up and secure such job opportunities for such workers." The Southerners were strong enough to force a substitute report on Employment Opportunities which merely stated that "minority workers do not have adequate job opportunities in certain occupations and fields of work and increased effort needs to be concentrated in opening up job opportunities for such workers. . . . Consideration needs to be given to this problem through education and appropriate legislation."

The conference went on record in

THE WASHINGTON POST

"He's great—always manages to make us look okay."

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favor of a $1-an-hour minimum wage and unanimously urged repeal of Taft-Hartley. Secretary Tobin, in his speech opening the conference, recommended:

¶ Improving federal-state systems of unemployment insurance. Average benefits now represent only about one-third of the worker's former wages, instead of 50 percent. In 1948 about 28 percent of the unemployed exhausted their benefits before getting other jobs.

¶ Broadening coverage. Only seven out of ten workers in the country are protected by unemployment insurance.

¶ Enactment of state minimum-wage laws. The new federal 75-cent minimum wage covers workers in interstate commerce only, and there is no floor under wages and no limit on hours for millions of low-paid workers in intrastate industries.

Delegates at the conference were unanimous in their agreement on one point: that labor legislation cannot be improved much more until the number of registered voters increases and better candidates are elected to state legislatures and to Congress.

### NO COUNTER REVOLUTION

The Labor Government in New Zealand has been defeated, and conservatives all over the world are throwing their hats in the air, announcing the turn of the tide. But the huzzas may be premature. The celebrants overlook several facts:

The Nationalists who now take power have only 46 seats out of 80 in the House of Representatives. Labor in the last election had 42, but four of these were seats of the Maoris, the natives of New Zealand, and the grouping did not represent a true political division.

While the Nationalists are to the Right of the Labor Party, they would be considered a Left group in most other countries. They strongly support New Zealand's elaborate and far-reaching social-security system, and will continue this and all the other important policies of the late government.

New Zealand clearly has not suffered a serious change of heart, but is undergoing some typical postwar weariness. The pound has been devalued; people fear rising prices. Although New Zealand exports butter (dairying is now her chief occupation), her people are strictly rationed on butter and many other things. The National Party is predominantly rural; the farmers are weary of high taxes and government restrictions. The New Zealanders (whose total population is slightly more than one-fifth that of New York City) will remain in the vanguard of all the Welfare States of the world.

### TROUBLE FOR MILLIKIN

The way is clearing for one of the most effective young liberals in the House of Representatives to be promoted to the Senate next year. John Carroll (D, Colo.) of Denver was outstanding in the last session of Congress for his intelligent and determined leadership on many issues, notably for strong social security and control of monopoly. Although this is only his second term in the House, Carroll already has wide public backing among Colorado Democrats as the party's candidate in 1950 against Republican Senator Eugene Millikin, who stands far to the Right of Taft.

Cautious elements in the Colorado Democratic Party who find Carroll's Fair Deal spirit hard to take have been arguing with some effect that middle-of-the-road Governor Lee Knous was the only Democrat with a chance to beat Millikin. Now, however, the conservative Denver *Post*, with a respected reputation for accurate pulse-taking in the Rocky Mountain region, has come up with a public-opinion poll of Colorado voters which destroys that argument. The *Post* poll shows that in a race between Millikin and Carroll, 48 percent of Colorado voters say they would choose Carroll, 38 percent Millikin, and 14 percent are undecided. Carroll seems sure to run and likely to win next November.

## OUTSIDE AMERICA

**The Soviets** have been talking peace for more than a year. By now it is an old story to hear the sort of thing Georgi Malenkov said at the Moscow celebration of the anniversary of the 1917 revolution. Nevertheless the old story has begun, at least in Western Europe, to sound different; a quality of urgency has come into the familiar words and the change is more than in words or overtones: a new Soviet policy in Western Europe is beginning to take shape (see "Outside America," October 24 and 31).

As usual with major Soviet policies, the Kremlin has the right hand operating differently from the left, in this case the right very heavy, the left trying the light touch. On the day Malenkov spoke, Marshal Rokossovsky became head of Poland's armed forces, while in Italy Palmiro Togliatti was winding up a campaign of appeals for domestic political "distention."

It may be nothing more than coincidence that this campaign—and a similar one in France—got seriously under way immediately after Secretary Acheson had said the Soviet atom bomb would not change American policy. And it may be sheer talk, or perhaps mere Communist propaganda, that the Soviets are now taking the possibility of a "preventive war" into practical account in their plans.

A different explanation, also current in Paris and Rome, of the new Soviet policy is that it is designed to take advantage of a combination of circumstances to check, and if possible reverse, the trend toward the reorganization of Western Europe under American auspices. These circumstances include the success of the Communists in China and the Soviet atom bomb. They also include Titoism, the rise of anti-Soviet clerical power in politics

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and the creation of a Western German state. As against these disadvantages, however, there are the psychological effects in Western Europe of the Soviet bomb, of devaluation and the Anglo-American intimacy, of a sudden upsurge of anti-Atlantic sentiment, especially among Socialists and liberals in France and Italy, of the nascent isolationism on Capitol Hill and, above all, of the dilemma: though Western Europe still needs American help, the Americans are now making that help contingent on conditions that are widely considered impractical, and even more widely felt to be unwelcome if not insufferable.

Whatever its source, the new Soviet policy in Western Europe is affirmative, reflecting therefore a change in the attitude that has dominated in the Kremlin ever since the Italian and French national elections in the spring of 1948. And it is supported by a strategy, both military and political, more vigorous than any since the ineffective effort to forestall the Marshall Plan. The tactics involve:

¶ The transformation of the Iron Curtain into a barrier of steel with the satellite countries going through a *Gleichschaltung* to make each of them a base *of* rather than *for* the Red Army;

¶ The containment of Western Germany to counteract any eastward power of attraction, to protect the "just" frontiers of the Soviet Union, and to sabotage, perhaps by more than threats and political pressure, the development of effective ties between Western Germany and Western Europe;

¶ The exploitation of discontent among anti-Communist labor organizations in France and Italy with the increasingly rightist orientations of the government coalitions, and with the presumed US sanction for them;

¶ The exploitation of the growing split in socialism, both in France and Italy, on the issue of participation in governments whose economic and financial policies are entirely dominated by political rightism;

¶ The stimulation of anti-Atlantic tendencies by making them seem the support of reactionary, mostly pro-Vatican, clerical political parties;

¶ The use in propaganda of the arguments that such governments as that of Italy's Alcide de Gasperi are neglecting the workers' interest, condoning police-state tactics instead of trying to do away with deep social evils, and resorting to unconstitutional methods to remain in power;

¶ The effort to get representatives of the Communist Parties back into the governments.

In carrying out the domestic political parts of the Kremlin's directive, the Communists are helped greatly by the growing suspicion that isolationism on Capitol Hill may result in the stopping of ECA aid in 1950. They are also helped by the American eagerness to tie Western Germany in with Western Europe; to French liberals it seems that the US is so urgent about this that it is willing to play the game of the old German nationalists and their reactionary supporters west of the Rhine. And the Communists have been given an ace in their game by Hoffman's proposal in Paris. They were so pleased by the "ultimatum" that they were content to let others—by no means anti-Americans or even leftists—spread resentment.

The bitterness about the Hoffman proposal arises from the feeling that the scheme, on which further US aid seems to depend, is both impractical and unworkable. The London *New Statesman and Nation* points out:

> Not only is Western Europe a net importer of foodstuffs and raw materials, but extreme dollar shortage affects the Marshall Plan countries universally. The aggregation of seventeen insolvencies does not make a solvent entity. Moreover, the national economies of Western Europe are more competitive than complementary.... What Britain can in no circumstances afford is to angle for extended American aid at the cost of committing itself to an Americanized European system in which the tendency would be for all workers to be leveled to the standards of the lowest.

Even the staunchly pro-American London *Economist* has the gravest doubts. It pleads with America to "be patient" and to "recognize the fact that it may take a generation of planning and adaptation to reach the stage at which it brings real economic benefits to the Continent."

**On the Continent** itself a growing impatience with the effects of Atlanticization on the methods of governments in power is spreading rapidly; and this is the ideal field for the exploitations included in the new Soviet policy for Western Europe. The great allies of the Communists are Moch and Scelba, Petsche and Pella. In France, Guy Mollet wants the Socialists to remain outside the government coalition, and the French Socialist Party may soon be as badly split as its Italian counterpart is already.

In Italy the de Gasperi government coalition, which is slowly reviving a clericalism the country has not experienced since before the start of its national existence in 1870, almost broke up recently: the Center-Right Liberal Party's executive committee voted down by only 11 to 9 a resolution of protest against the Premier's unconstitutional methods. In the spring of 1950 there will be another national election when the results of the voting of April 18, 1948, will be brought to a test. It is possible that before then the Liberals, the Republicans and the anti-Communist Socialists will form a laical—or anti-clerical—"front" to oppose both the Communists and the Christian Democrats.

In 1948 de Gasperi had all these parties with him against Togliatti; he also had the Vatican and every bit of help the Americans could give him. This time, though the election will take place during Holy Year, Togliatti will have with *him* the effects of American policy during the intervening period, and also the determination of the Soviet Union to make Italy, which was the birthplace of the "American phase" of Western Europe, its graveyard as well. PERCY WINNER

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# TITO'S REVOLUTION IS UNIQUE

**by Frank Gervasi**

BEOGRAD is Serbo-Croat for Belgrade and means White City. But Belgrade is not white. It is gray, grim. Even when the sun shines, which is rarely now that the icy *koshova* blows in from the Russian steppes, it is a dreary city of modernistic steel and concrete mingled with the rundown rococo of another era, the whole superimposed on a minareted market town.

But a great capital is taking form on the limestone cliff above where the Sava flows into the Danube. It is an ugly hodgepodge now because the scaffolding of new apartment houses and office and government buildings is still up and piles of brick and stone, heaps of mortar and debris, barrels of pitch and rough lumber are everywhere.

Down on the flats below the old city, on the site of what was a Nazi concentration camp, stand the cement skeletons of a new civic center, a party headquarters, a great hotel and other buildings. Only the student dormitories, looking like a Long Island low-income-housing development, are completed. The students already living there are helping to build a new university.

Belgrade today is a city of about half a million inhabitants. In two and a half years, upon completion of the Five-Year Plan which includes the building of the new capital, it will contain a million persons or more. With a calm assurance that in any other people would be sheer overconfidence, Yugoslavs say that the New Belgrade will be finished in the scheduled time. None seems to doubt that the plan, intended to convert Yugoslavia from a backward agrarian and mining country into a modern industrial nation, will be realized. Only foreigners regard it as overambitious and impossible of fulfillment.

The plan calls for expenditure of $5.5 billion—a big sum for any country and a staggering one for Yugoslavia, a nation of only 16 million inhabitants and barely as large as Oregon. Its chief objective—industrialization—involves shifting about three million peasants from farm employment into industrial pursuits, in which only 1.6 million are now directly engaged. It provides, of course, for intensification of agriculture so that loss of farm manpower will be made up.

The plan calls for an incredible amount of sheer physical labor. But the evidence of Yugoslav determination to move mountains, figuratively and actually, is almost everywhere. Only in those remoter regions where the war against the Nazi-Fascists and the war-within-a-war between Partisans and collaborationist Chetniks pounded villages and towns flat, is there little or no activity. There the devastation was so great, and the poverty of the surrounding country is such, that reconstruction and development are uneconomic.

Otherwise Yugoslavia looks like a nation emerging from a wilderness. It is a vast scattering of public-works projects in various stages of completion; of roads, bridges, factories, viaducts, power plants, housing finished, half-finished or just begun; of entire villages and towns rising where none existed before. Boys and girls swing picks and push shovels on the broad, new highway between Belgrade and Zagreb. You come upon work parties, military and civilian, mending bridges and mills in remote ravines and repairing roads high on mountain flanks.

**Nowhere in Europe,** not in embattled Britain or dead-earnest Norway, and certainly not in France or even Italy, do people work so hard for fewer of life's necessities and luxuries. Agriculture is still at only 88 percent of capacity and food is scarce and expensive. Of luxuries the Yugoslavs have fewer than the Norwegians, who have next to none and whose self-denial makes British austerity look like a businessmen's banquet.

Consumer goods are pitifully short. The cities' shops are empty or meagerly stocked with rationed, costly, shoddy goods. In the Yugoslav countryside the peasants have difficulty in obtaining the minimums of clothing, footwear, household tools, soap and other things "guaranteed" them by coupons.

Totalitarian socialism has not given Yugoslavs full bellies, enough warm clothes on their backs and any extra shoes for their feet. Communism has, moreover, annihilated all or most of those civil liberties so dear to us of the West.

The voter casts his ballot for the party's hand-picked candidates. The press megaphones the party's policies. Except when they gather for their evening *korso* on city boulevards and in the village squares, meet on

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*This is the first of two articles by Frank Gervasi on Yugoslavia, written from Belgrade. In the second, which will be published in an early issue, he discusses what America should do to help keep Yugoslavia in the orbit of the West.*

*Gervasi has been for most of his working life a foreign correspondent. He studied at Drexel Institute and the University of Pennsylvania. Since 1939, he has been a roving correspondent for Collier's, whose assignments have taken him all over the world. His books include* War Has Seven Faces *and* But Soldiers Wondered Why.

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party business or attend the opera, the ballet or the invariably dull, propaganda-larded movies, Yugoslavs do not dare exercise their constitutional right of assembly. And religious worship, while not outlawed, is frowned upon as senile or reactionary.

**Yugoslavs have not** realized the promised animal or spiritual comforts of the People's Democracy. Why, then, do they work as hard as they do? What are they building? What makes this Yugoslavia, with all its misery and repressions, nevertheless seem far more rational than what is occurring in neighboring Italy? And why, on the other hand, when one sees the lights of Trieste from Sezana at the dark frontier, does one feel a sense of relief and of anticipation at returning to the West?

It is less difficult to find answers to those questions than one might suppose. An amazing number of Yugoslavs speak English, usually learned in America. Larger numbers speak Italian and many more know German. The visitor is not limited to sign language and the translations of official interpreters. Also, it is possible to travel freely, up to the limits of driving endurance and the contents of the gas tank. Except for military installations and areas, the country is wide open to anyone fortunate enough to obtain a visa.

The candor of the Yugoslavs is one of their most attractive characteristics. A peasant will say frankly that he is annoyed at the red tape involved in obtaining enough fertilizer. A mechanic will say without hesitation that the particular piece of work he is doing is not as good as it might be because he hasn't yet learned how to do it expertly. Officials are not afraid publicly to criticize the amount and quality of the food served in the workers' messes. It is not long before the answers fall into a pattern.

One learns quickly why the Yugoslavs toil, almost frenziedly, for so little in the way of creature comforts or individual freedoms. To begin with, back-breaking work is the natural heritage of Balkan peasants and they have never been rewarded above a bare subsistence level. The great bulk of the people—the peasants, workers, miners, loggers—are better paid and, in spite of shortages, better fed than ever before. What food exists is more equitably distributed. Everyone works. There are no 150,000 to 200,000 chronic unemployed as before the war, in the days of the corrupt monarchy whose absolutism was no less oppressive than the socialist totalitarianism of today and whose aptitude for planning was considerably inferior. To people who never had them, civil liberties are apt to mean a lot less than to Britons, Americans or Frenchmen.

Compulsion, however, undoubtedly figures large in the reason why Yugoslavs work as hard as they do. Those work brigades along the roads and in the cities and towns are not entirely "volunteer" affairs. Every worker is expected to contribute his time free after his regular 48-hour, six-day work week is finished. He may give the state anywhere from two weeks to two months of labor every year. If he does not, he may lose his ration card or his identification papers, without which life is impossible.

But faith, too, is an important element in the near-frenzy of Yugoslav activity. The people believe in what they are doing. Yes, many work merely to earn a livelihood; others because work is their accustomed lot. The overwhelming majority appear to labor purposefully and willingly to rear something in which they profoundly believe—the socialist state.

DRAWINGS BY BERNARD GOLDEN

To realize this, one must recognize the peculiarities of the Yugoslav revolution, unique among the Communist revolutions of the postwar era. Communism did not come to power here via the coup d'état, as in Czechoslovakia, or in the wake of the Soviet Army as in Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. It was not imported into Yugoslavia but is a native product.

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It came as a result of a successful war against Nazi and Fascist enemies, gaining adherents as the war progressed. It taught and applied its precepts while men, women and children fought against the invader and the invader's ally, the monarchist-Chetnik Draja Mikhailovich.

The war did not merely settle accounts with the foreign enemy, but also with the one inside. It was simultaneously a war and a revolution which forged both the pattern of government and the basis for its popular support.

This war-born homogeneity enabled Josip Broz Tito to reject Kremlin interference in Yugoslavia's domestic and foreign affairs with political impunity. It enables him now to demand—and obtain—from Yugoslavs almost any sacrifice for building the socialist state.

It was to frustrate that objective and thus cause Tito's downfall that the Soviet Union and its satellites imposed an economic blockade against Yugoslavia which deprived it of raw materials, carburants and machinery and obliged Tito to solicit Western help. But the West must not believe that such assistance as is flowing into Yugoslavia will sway Tito away from his socialist objectives. Tito will use all aid to push forward the temporarily stalled Five-Year Plan—in short, to make socialism work. The resulting increased production of food and consumers' goods will make his people happier. Tito and his regime will be strengthened. Yugoslavia's resistance to Soviet imperialism will be the important byproduct of Western aid, but only the byproduct.

Yugoslavia had a shorter distance to travel toward socialism than is generally realized. Public ownership was widespread long before World War II. The state owned and operated many utilities and industries too big for private capital to finance.

By 1941 the state owned and ran the railroads, telephone and telegraph communications, radio stations, the canals, river shipping and warehousing facilities and the tobacco, cigarette-paper, match and salt industries. It owned and operated lumber mills, the only paper-making factory then in the country, several factory-farms, the biggest of the iron and steel mills, many of the larger coal mines, all munitions works, the sugar factories, several hotels and a few aircraft plants. The state had publishing interests, operated the only news agency in the country, and ran most of the hospitals, and operated power plants, gas works, water works and other municipal enterprises.

Titoist socialism, therefore, is but an extension of a system already well established. The changeover from private to state ownership of all industries and sources of natural wealth and the creation of socialized farm coöperatives was less of a jolt to the national psyche than might otherwise have been the case.

**By the spring of 1948,** Tito had socialized all industry and had virtually eliminated private ownership and enterprise in the non-agricultural sectors of the Yugoslav economy. He proceeded more slowly in socializing agriculture, too cautiously for the Kremlin's pleasure. But Tito had good reasons.

Moscow urged Tito to collectivize farming, as the Soviets had done, and "liquidate the kulaks." Yugoslavia had no kulak class of rich farmers with large holdings. Out of two million farms, fewer than 2,000 were of more than 250 acres; most of these belonged to the Church. Tito took these lands and distributed them among the landless. Otherwise his reforms were mild. He chose a coöperative rather than a collective form of socialization and even made membership in the co-ops voluntary.

Tito knew that he had a fiercely independent, property-conscious peasantry of small holders to deal with, and wisely respected the principle of private ownership. Farmers owning up to 65 acres were permitted to keep their land, provided, of course, that they filled production quotas set by the state.

To the Kremlin, however, anyone with 65 acres was a hated kulak and a candidate for liquidation. Tito's tolerance of the bigger farmers was one of the grounds for his expulsion from the Cominform. Tito knew his own country and its problems far better than the Cominform possibly could. To have got tough with the farmers would have meant antagonizing the largest,

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most important single element in the nation and risking the Five-Year Plan, socialism, the regime itself.

Tito's "soft policy" toward the peasantry has paid off. The co-ops are multiplying rapidly. They now include fully one-fifth of the nation's farmers. The total has risen from only 500 in 1947 to 5,500 today. Every co-op member is allowed to own his house and as much as two and a half acres of land, one or two cows, five goats or sheep, one sow, unlimited numbers of fowl and up to ten beehives.

Some co-ops are so prosperous that they have money at the end of the year to invest in other co-ops, at four-percent interest! One which this reporter visited was expertly run and had increased production per acre by as much as 20 percent for some crops, notably wheat and corn. The people were happy and secure. Many had land who had never owned land before.

**Yugoslavia's solution** of agrarian landlessness is what most impresses any visitor coming, as this reporter did, from Italy. There landlessness works misery, suffering and unrest among a large section of the peasantry, particularly in Apulia, Calabria and Lucania. There may be more civil liberty among the Italian *braccianti*, but there is more serfdom, too. Equally striking to anyone visiting Yugoslavia after a stay in Italy is the fact that in Titoland, while there is poverty, there are no nauseating contrasts of luxury and privation. In Yugoslavia one is aware of a democratic, equable distribution of misery rather than concentration of enormous wealth in the hands of a few.

For all the poverty and privation, and there is plenty of both, Yugoslavia has nothing to compare with Rome's Pietralata or Primavalle or Quartiere Flaminio. But neither is there, in the big cities, a Via Veneto or a Corso Umberto of glittering shops and fancy cafés.

Yet you leave Yugoslavia willingly, almost gladly, with a sense of relief as though setting down a burden or escaping a danger. This is not because the Tito police-state's operatives are ubiquitous or exacting. On the contrary, one is amazed to see fewer armed police than in postwar Italy and is less aware of the presence of agents and spies than in Mussolini's Italy, Hitler's Germany or Franco's Spain. During a month in Yugoslavia, during which this reporter traveled a thousand miles, he had no "cop trouble" whatever. But you are glad to cross the frontier at Sezana and you urge the car down toward the lights of Trieste that glitter below at the sea's edge like gems flung on black velvet. Suddenly you know why.

In Yugoslavia the state is omniscient and omnipotent. It may not affect Serbs and Croats, Bosnians and Herzogovinians, Montenegrins and Slovenians in the same way. They have never known freedom. But anyone who has, is frightened and revolted that men should belong bone and muscle, brain and heart to a state, any state, no matter how much economic security it might give.

# ANTI-HISTAMINES AS COLD CURES

**by Bruce Bliven**

IF YOU READ the newspapers you can hardly have missed the recent big black advertisements announcing new remedies—the anti-histamines—for that commonest of all maladies, a cold in the head. Several of these are already on the market and new ones are appearing almost every week. They are selling in quantities; drugstores are unable to keep them in stock. Makers of older "cold cures" have seen their markets dwindle overnight. The claims made for some of the new products are extravagant indeed; the user is virtually guaranteed that if he takes the product promptly after the appearance of the first symptoms, his cold will be "cured."

But while the public is embracing these new cures, the medical profession takes a very different attitude. The Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry of the American Medical Association says that experience with the new remedies "is not yet long enough to know whether or not they are harmless when used over a long period of time." The Medical Information Bureau of the New York Academy of Medicine says of these new remedies that while "it is quite possible that they are in some respects superior to those previously used, there does not appear to be any warrant whatsoever for the categoric claim that they can stop a cold." The National Better Business Bureau has protested the sweeping claims that are being made in current advertising. It is particularly alarmed at the idea that these new drugs should be given indiscriminately to children, since a dose which can be tolerated by an adult may be excessive for a child.

The importance of a genuine remedy for colds would need no underlining. Colds cost the American people at least 100 million days of working time a year, and $1 billion, including $100 million spent on treatments of dubious value. As everyone knows, a cold may be the precursor of a more serious ailment.

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The anti-histamines are a group of chemicals of which about a dozen are now well known, including coricidin, pyribenzamine, benadryl, neohistamine, neoantergan, histadyl, antistine and trimeton. Several of these are being sold under trade names: neohetramine is called "Anahist"; trimeton is called "Inhiston"; neoantergan, it is expected, will be sold both as "Antamine" and as "Kriptin."

**Histamine is** a body chemical associated with allergic conditions—including eczema, hives, hay fever, asthma, and intestinal and other disorders. The anti-histamine drugs in some way suppress the action of the histamine, and, in the past few years, they have been used quite successfully to relieve the symptoms of several of the allergic maladies just mentioned.

Since the early symptoms of a cold in the head are strikingly similar to those of some allergic conditions —hay fever, for instance—for the last couple of years various experimenters have been trying anti-histamines on people with colds. One of the earliest was Captain John Brewster, US Navy Medical Corps, who was in charge of a cold clinic at Great Lakes Naval Training Center and had plenty of patients drawn from many thousands of naval and civilian personnel.

Captain Brewster, after treating about 500 patients, reported that in 90 percent of the cases, if one of the anti-histamines was given on the first appearance of cold symptoms, these symptoms seemed to disappear. (It should be remembered, of course, that "an early cold" may not be a cold at all.) The proportion of successful treatments went down steadily with the length of time between the onset and the first treatment—a fact which hostile critics emphasize, arguing that a really effective treatment ought to work no matter when it is begun.

A control group, given old-fashioned remedies, made a much poorer showing. Only about 40 percent improved, for whatever reason, after waiting six hours; 30 percent after 12 hours; and nobody after a day. (Other experimenters have reported somewhat better results from postponed treatment.) Medical science has always been dubious about the value of cold "cures"; the *Journal* of the American Medical Association not long ago reiterated the opinion that the only thing to do in the case of a cold is to go to bed and stay there, though of course there is medication which is effective in relieving a throat tickle or clearing a stopped-up nose.

Among Captain Brewster's patients, those whose symptoms were not entirely aborted said that their colds were much shorter and milder if they had anti-histamine treatment. They also reported their belief that they were not infecting their families as much as they had done in the past.

Results in general quite similar to these have been reported by Dr. John S. Gordon of Charlotte, North Carolina, by Dr. H. G. Murray, employed by a large industrial firm in Framingham, Massachusetts, and by spokesmen for at least one other industrial firm, a boarding school for girls, a convent and a prison.

Medical authorities stress the fact that most of the anti-histamines have some side effects. A quarter to a third of the individuals thus far tested have experienced, from any one of several of these drugs, drowsiness, nausea, headache, dry mouth and vertigo. The manufacturers who are selling direct to the public warn that the prescribed dose should not be exceeded, and some of them urge people who have taken one of the anti-histamines, if they feel drowsy, to drink black coffee before driving a car or working with moving machinery. However, with millions of people now buying these products, it is reasonably sure that in some percentage of cases, the warning will be disregarded.

**Assuming that** the claims made for the anti-histamines are correct, nobody knows why they should have this action. Most medical authorities strongly resist the suggestion that a cold, which is a virus infection, may begin with an allergic reaction against which the anti-histamine is effective. The problem is complicated because there is a strong psychological factor both in "catching cold" and in suffering the allergic conditions mentioned above. The case histories of the psychiatrists are full of records of people who come down with cold symptoms regularly when they are about to embark upon some disagreeable task. These records also contain many cases where eczema, hives, hay fever or asthma has been alleviated or cured by treatment which comes roughly under the heading of psychoanalysis. Scientists working with possible remedies for colds (not including the anti-histamines) learned long ago that whenever any large number of people are told they are being given any substance which may be helpful, the number of "colds" at once goes down substantially.

Without waiting for an answer to all these questions, millions of Americans this winter will buy and try one or another of the anti-histamines. Within a few months we should know whether this is a genuine forward step, or another false hope like the dozens with which recent history is studded.

Whether they can or cannot cure colds, the anti-histamines are proving themselves extremely useful tools. To alleviate the symptoms of the various aller-

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gies is itself an enormous boon, as every victim of any of them is well aware. Even more important, as far as present knowledge permits a judgment, is the use of the anti-histamines in conjunction with the sulfa drugs and the anti-biotics, penicillin, streptomycin, aureomycin, etc. Everyone knows that these new weapons against disease have conquered or greatly benefited a long list of diseases, including scarlet fever, gonorrhea, syphilis, some forms of pneumonia, typhus, typhoid and other fevers, and tuberculosis. Unfortunately, many people develop an allergy to these remedies; and the longer they are used the greater the frequency and severity of the allergic response. In fact, some doctors have feared that because of this situation some of the anti-biotics might need to be discarded eventually. But the problem seems to be solved when an anti-histamine is given simultaneously. The importance of this fact speaks for itself.

# THE RESURGENCE OF THE JESUITS

**by Percy Winner**

MANY EVENTS of importance not only to communicants of the Roman Catholic Church but also in relation to the Church's role as a sovereign temporal power participating directly in world politics will take place during the Holy Year of 1950. The first Consistory since February, 1946, will be held, and the choice of new members to fill 15 vacancies in the Sacred College of Cardinals will give indications of the Church's political orientations. It is likely, for example, that a Yugoslav and a Czechoslovak—Monsignor Stepinac, the Archbishop of Zagreb, and Monsignor Beran, the Archbishop of Prague—will be honored for their brave resistance to Communist pressure.

It is also possible that a papal bull will be issued to change the size of the College of Cardinals, permitting an increase in its membership from 70 to 105. Since cardinals are statesmen and diplomats as well as princes of the Church, such an increase will suggest a recognition by the Church of greater temporal responsibilities. Moreover, the balance between the number of Italian cardinals and the number of non-Italians, as it will be altered during the Holy Year, will also provide clues to the Church's conception of its new world role.

Even the most important ecclesiastical event of the Jubilee celebration is not without a significant political aspect. Some time during 1950 Pope Pius XII will probably proclaim a new dogma of the Church—the first of the twentieth century. This is the Assumption of Mary—the belief that the mother of Jesus Christ is in heaven not only in soul but also in body. After the dogma has been officially proclaimed, Catholics who fail to accept it as a fact revealed by God will be liable to excommunication as heretics.

The belief has been widely held among Catholics for at least four centuries. What is significant politically about its evolution is the relationship between the time when discussion began—1869—and the date—1950—when it is likely to end in dogma. Then, as now, the enemy was Communism; and then, as now, the Church's attitude toward such supporters of progress—but not necessarily of Communism—as Socialism and liberalism was in question.

The Jesuit Father Giuseppe Filograssi, one of the Vatican theologians active in connection with preparations for proclaiming the Assumption of Mary, has been quoted as saying that the timing of the event may serve to invoke greater spiritual help for the Church "in the supreme fight these days not only in behalf of the truths of the faith but even in behalf of the first and fundamental rational truths in the moral and religious order." It is not without significance that members of the Society of Jesus, the least progressive of the Church's orders, were also extremely active in 1869, and in fostering the last two dogmas of the Church—the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, proclaimed December 8, 1854, and the Infallibility of the Pope, proclaimed July 18, 1870, as part of the Constitution *Pastor Aeternus.*

The Pope who proclaimed both was Pius IX. When he was elected to the Roman See on June 16, 1846, the supporters of social reform, tolerance and liberalism felt they had won a great victory. During that year he granted a political amnesty. The next year he gave the Papal State the first and only Constitution it has ever had. But when the various liberal revolutions swept over Europe in 1848, and when the Communist Manifesto was issued, the Pope turned hard toward the political Right. He fled from Rome before the Roman republic was proclaimed, and when he returned to his temporal throne, thanks to a French army, he came as a bitter enemy of progress.

This was the background of the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and of Infallibility (and of the

*This is the fourth and last of a series of articles on developments within the Catholic Church on the eve of the Holy Year of 1950.*

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preparations for the dogma of the Assumption of Mary). Midway between the two dogmas, the Pope issued the encyclical *Quanta Cura,* which denounced liberty of conscience and worship, and rejected freedom of speech and the press. It denied the will of the people as an arbiter of right and wrong and condemned the opinions of liberal Catholics. The next year, 1864, the *Syllabus*, or Collection of Modern Errors, repudiated "modern liberalism" and denied that the "Roman pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself and make terms with progress, with liberalism and with modern methods of government."

**The Syllabus** was the climax of a trend within the Church against liberalism. The trend had begun after the French Revolution and had found expression in the brief *Charitas* in 1791; in the bull *Quam memoranda;* in the bull *Sollicitudo omnium*, coinciding with the return of the Jesuits to full power in Rome, bringing with them the Inquisition, the Index, intolerance and anti-Semitism; in the encyclical *Mirari vos* of 1832 against the democratic ideas of Lamennais, who favored free education, freedom of the press and of association; in the encyclical *Ubi primum* denouncing all religious tolerance and liberalism; and in the encyclical *Traditi humilitati* which further strengthened the Jesuits and favored their intolerant ideas. The brief interlude of papal liberalism was finished, and in the manner of an absolutist French king's "*L'état, c'est moi,*" the Pope said, "*La tradizione, son'io.*"

Nevertheless, a generation later, another Pope, Leo XIII, from whose election liberals had expected little, strongly modified this position. His encyclical *Rerum novarum* was the first papal pronouncement to recognize labor unions, to face the political realities of the modern world and to declare, on behalf of the Church, a doctrine of social justice. This historic statement is still the basis and foundation of Catholic liberalism. Indeed, the struggle between liberalism and traditionalist conservatism within the Church itself is between the progressive ideas of Leo XIII and the reactionary ones of Pius IX. And since the Church under Pius XII is an active participant in world politics, the outcome of the struggle is of major importance.

Between the 1890s and the First World War, the Church's advocacy of social justice found expression in laical organizations; in labor unions; and even in political parties in Western Europe such as Italy's *Popolari* and Germany's Centrists. Anti-clericalism was weaker in France, and the effects of Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* had almost disappeared in Germany. Even after the Russian revolution of 1917, the Church did not allow its strong anti-Communism to interfere greatly with its acceptance of a "Catholic Left" in Western Europe. Nor did the Lateran Treaty of 1929, which reëstablished the temporal power of the papacy, prevent the Church from coming out openly against the incursions of Italian Fascism and German Nazism into education and other social fields.

During the Spanish civil war, the elements in the Church which derived from the *Syllabus* supported Franco, but liberal Catholics in France, Latin America and the United States supported the Loyalists. And while, during the early years of the Second World War, there were strong currents of official Church opinion behind Pétain, there were also large numbers of Catholics who fought in the *maquis* side by side with liberals, Socialists, even Communists. Catholic liberalism reached its climax between 1943 and 1945 when its proponents spoke up bravely against reactionary American political policy in Western Europe.

But the end of the war altered the balance between liberalism and traditionalist conservatism within the Church. In the cold war, the Church first sided with the West, then went farther, taking for itself a direct temporal role against the East. As part of this change the Pope revived the medieval doctrine that the moral power of the papacy was superior, at least in the field of social reform, to the temporal power of laical states.

The discovery that the Soviet Union now possesses atomic weapons has tended to strengthen the trend that began early last spring away from further intensification of the cold war. But the Church has not relented in its own war against Marxist Communism. On the contrary, the nature of the preparations for Holy Year suggest that the Church now sees Vatican City, rather than Washington, as the Western base of the cold war. The Church takes the position that it cannot relent because its own existence and the existence of the ideas for which it stands are threatened. And to make up for its losses in the East, it is actively seeking new strength in the West.

**As the inheritor** of the spiritual mission of St. Peter, the Church has the right—indeed, the duty—to defend itself and its principles. But the aspect of the Church's present position that most deeply troubles many thoughtful Catholics in such socially and intellectually advanced countries as France and England is what seems to them an excessive emphasis on material factors in the defense of the rights of the spirit. They fear that Catholic moral leadership, more than ever needed in a time of confusion and anxiety, may be compromised. They tend to agree with the English historian Arnold J. Toynbee that the greatest tragedy in the history of the Church was the policy of Pope

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Gregory VII, who saw the Church as the supreme physical as well as moral force in the world. It was this refusal to give to Caesar what is Caesar's, they believe, that caused the inability of the Church to exert its influence fully in the times of crisis of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The second half of the twentieth century promises an even greater crisis, for the dangers of atomic energy and bacteriological warfare lie less in their use as weapons of war than in the minds and spirits of the men who may use or misuse them both in peace and war. A politicalized Church may lose so much of its moral authority that it will be unable to do its large share in coping with such dangers. A Church that gears its thinking to the needs of ignorant peasants in Southern Italy and Spain, no matter how well and appropriately, will fail to exert its full influence in the world of nuclear fission. And the element in the Church's position which worries liberal Catholics is the effect that its politicalization may have on the world balance between progress and tradition, between enlightenment and obscurantism, between liberal democracy and reactionary forms of polity.

**The Church** is now supporting, and being supported by, political parties whose present orientations are not exactly liberal, or even democratic in the larger sense of the word. Such parties are in control of the governments of Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Western Germany, Austria, Argentina and a number of other Latin American countries. In France some elements of the Popular Republican Movement, the Church party in the government, have been moving away from the progressive ideas of the Third Force; and also in France, the Church has recently been giving support to parties much farther to the Right.

The recent decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office has been officially interpreted in a manner likely to harm, and also to alienate, liberal Catholics. An element in this interpretation is the apparent view of the Church that the extreme ecclesiastical penalty of excommunication can be legitimately used in furtherance of political ends. Various recent pronouncements of the Church have suggested that the social doctrine of Leo XIII is to be transformed into a humanistic form of the Fascist corporativism. Faithful Catholics who in countries like France work in progressive movements and groups for liberal and democratic goals, have been warned that they must desist because Communists proclaim similar goals. They have also been expressly forbidden to read political material, without a knowledge of which they cannot accurately and objectively form the opinions on which their duties as citizens and voters depend.

Some of the liberal Catholics refuse to see in such policies of Pius XII a denial of the principles of Leo XIII. The problem, they say, is not of liberalism against reaction; it is of *what kind* of liberalism. The Church, they maintain, has been too influenced in making its own definitions of social justice by its worst enemies—the Communists—and its best friends —the reactionaries of the Western world. What the Church offers in a humanistic neo-corporativism *is* freedom compared with what men and women get under a Communist regime; the dangers of infection from Communism *do* exist among the masses in places like Southern Italy and Spain where so-called democratic governments have even now failed to provide the education on which free and sound political and intellectual judgments must be made. But a "political" Catholicism of the nineteenth century is no answer to the moral and spiritual problems of today.

Other liberal Catholics are preoccupied by recent developments within the Church itself. The members of the Dominican Order, once the executors of the Inquisition but in modern times, especially in France's recent past, associated with progressive currents in politics, have lost influence. In their place, the members of the Jesuit Order have again returned to power not only in Vatican City but also in the counsels of the hierarchies in Western European and American countries. The Jesuit Order has come a long way since Pius IX, during the brief period of his liberalism, excluded it from Rome. On its return in the middle of the last century it formed the vanguard of the reactionary elements which sought to give greater and more centralized temporal power to the papacy. It sponsored the last two dogmas of the Church—the Immaculate Conception and the Infallibility—as means of invoking greater help for the Church "in the supreme fight" of those days, overriding the objections voiced at the Vatican Councils by more liberal churchmen. And the fact that the new dogma of the Assumption of Mary is to be timed to coincide with the show of strength which the coming Holy Year is to be, suggests that it is again in the vanguard.

**Within Western Europe,** the political policy of the Church is based on a community of interest of the various "Christian parties." In the forefront of these parties is the one which controls the government of Western Germany under Dr. Konrad Adenauer; close behind are those in France which favor a close link between a rightist France and a rightist Germany. This is true because the Church is trying to make up in Western Germany and Austria for its losses in Eastern

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Germany and in Soviet Europe. On the political Right in France voices have been rising in support of a Franco-German alliance as the core of a Western European federation in which England will have little, if any, part.

In an article, "Europe without the English," in the rightist French newspaper, the *Figaro,* Jean Claude has said that the essential problem is a "Franco-German harmonization." Other economists have explained that this means the revival of Franco-German economic cartels—certainly not a factor in the growth of liberal democracy. Count Gaston Palewski has bitterly attacked England as America's "agent" in Europe, and the man for whom he speaks, General Charles de Gaulle, has come out for a direct agreement with Germany—the Germany where the *Hitlerjugend* are already marching. It has been a matter of rejoicing in Vatican City's less liberal circles that the British have been tactless about their devaluation, and that the Americans have unwittingly helped the movement for a Franco-German entente by creating the impression that Britain is henceforth to be America's special and favored partner—no longer a member of the European community.

For the policy these Vatican circles support is a Western European federation in which a greatly strengthened Germany will be closely linked with the Latin countries—France, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Portugal. In this grouping there would be no place for England, certainly not for an England under a Labour Government. In effect, therefore, these political representatives of the Church favor the creation of a non-Socialist, even an anti-Socialist, and anti-liberal Western Europe as a weapon against Communism and, not incidentally, as an end in itself.

Nevertheless, though liberal Catholicism has entered a period of decline, its forced retreat is not a rout. The Church is still carrying out its spiritual mission and its tasks as a moral preceptor. Millions of children go to Catholic schools, millions of adults are benefited by Catholic churches, missions, hospitals, universities, research institutes; there are great Catholic intellectuals, writers, scientists. There are members of the Trappist and other orders who lead the contemplative life; there are Jesuits who sacrifice their lives to serve the inmates of leprosaria in central Africa.

The Holy Year will also be a Jubilee for hundreds of thousands of Catholics who humbly and self-sacrificingly serve God and their fellow men; for millions of Catholics with deep faith that the spiritual mission of their Church will prevail over all temporal deviations.

# BIG EARS: *A Study in Politico-Genetics*

**by Mervyn Jones**

As soon as we got to Mont Louis we noticed something odd, but couldn't decide just what. Only by elimination—the people were quite normal, the cats, the horses—did we conclude that it was the dogs.

And even there, at first glance, everything was in order. There were all sorts of dogs, nearly all mongrels; big dogs, little dogs, excitable dogs, lazy dogs, friendly dogs, surly dogs, clean dogs, and dirty dogs. Just as in any small town. Then we sensed that all the dogs had a certain air, an expression of distrust, of remoteness; especially when they were off their guard, didn't know you were looking at them. But what gave them this air? We realized it suddenly: their big, drooping ears.

In the Café de France, a tipsy parachutist, one of the *bataillon de choc* quartered in the Citadel, and still wearing his English red beret of wartime, gave us the clue. "Get out!" he cried to an affection-seeking mongrel, "Get out, son of a collaboratress!" Odd abuse, even in the land of purple dogs and camels. We mentioned the incident in the *pension* next day.

"Yes, it's true," they said. "What can we do? Everyone, alas, notices it sooner or later." By tactful digging, we got the facts. From 1942 to 1944, Mont Louis was the base of the German frontier police. To stop Allied airmen and detected Resistance people from getting over the Pyrenees, they used scout cars, searchlights . . . and bloodhounds. At the liberation, the bloodhounds were exterminated. But it was too late. Every bitch in the town had collaborated.

We sympathized deeply with the people of Mont Louis, but we had to agree; nothing can be done. You can dance and make speeches on the Fourteenth of July, you can give scholarships to Resistance orphans, you can name the main street after a Resistance martyr. All this has been done. But how can you forget the Occupation when at every corner you meet those big ears?

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At first, when it was a matter of little puppies frisking about, their absurd ears catching under their feet, you could laugh. But this is 1949; the tainted generation is full-grown. The dogs are bold, shameless. Every now and then, there is an incident. Someone coming home late gets a sudden, treacherous bite. A camper in the mountains hears a deep, savage baying. The good people shake their heads: blood will tell . . .

The schoolmaster went into the question, with textbooks on genetics. A dominant characteristic, he found, may last for generations. It may skip a generation, when it had been thought to have vanished. A cheerful, popular terrier mates with a respectable poodle, each of them having the most impeccable short, pointed ears; and, in the first litter, a pup confronts its astonished parents, innocence in its baby eyes, guilt in its big ears. The priest was no more consoling. We cannot escape the Word of God: the sins of the fathers . . .

There were those who, showing their scars, demanded that all the dogs should be killed. But very few people in the town liked the idea. For one thing, most people are dog-owners. Principles are one thing, all right; but to load up your gun, lie to the children, take out your dog, avoid his gaze, and shoot him, just because he has big ears . . . if that's your idea, you begin. Maybe after all he'll take after his mother. You can't condemn them all. It's racialism. We're not Nazis, after all.

On the other hand, nobody had much faith in reeducation. You can train a dog, yes. But you can't train him to be ashamed of his ears. Put yourself in his place: would you like to be told that it's wrong to have long eyelashes?

The devil of it is that nobody can really trust his own dog. A man will swear black and blue that his dog is clean, affectionate, intelligent, loyal. Then he looks at those big ears. How can one be sure? A bloodhound is a bloodhound.

Various ways were suggested of getting rid of the dogs. A fund was started to send them to Germany, but it flopped. Some people presented their dogs to holiday-makers from Algeria, where dogs aren't understood or liked, and nobody would be sensitive to the big ears. Then the argument was heard: if they're bloodhounds, all right, let them be used as bloodhounds. The Toulouse *Front National* alleged that the army was using bloodhounds in Indo-China. But the military authorities said no, it was a lie, and anyway they wouldn't take the dogs as a gift; what is the army, a home for mongrel strays, *quoi?*

The CRS, now—the Republican Companies of Security. The miners called them the SS, during the strike. But they aren't proper SS; for one thing, they haven't got bloodhounds. Would they take the dogs of Mont Louis? But there are several snags. It might become known, and the CGT would get the wrong idea; Mont Louis, a town where they breed scabs; no, impossible. And Jules Moch, from his point of view, would he be grateful? Our dogs aren't 100-percent bloodhounds. They might not prove reliable. In a crisis, they would remember their poodle mothers.

So, by now, most people in Mont Louis have resigned themselves to the big ears. They even joke about it; a bit uncertainly, perhaps. It doesn't worry you for weeks, and then one day you see the son of a collaboratress lifting his leg to insult the monument to the martyrs of the Resistance.

An awkward situation.

# ADDING A SKILL TO STATESMANSHIP

**by Brock Chisholm**

FOR A VERY long time, in most fields of human activity, the employment of experts to get important results has been taken for granted. Most of us assume that because a person is in a particular position, he is an expert in the field of responsibilities of that position.

Much of the social organization of any modern state concerns itself with the problem of assuring expert knowledge, skill and experience in posts where the welfare or the lives of the people depend on those qualifications. But there are some countries where the qualifications of persons holding critical positions cannot be accepted without question. In some places people are holding responsible technical jobs because of political or family or other irrelevant considerations. Wherever that happens, and to the degree to which it happens, we must recognize a "backward country." Even in the more "advanced" countries, it might be well from time to time to check on these jobholders' technical competence. In our rapidly changing world, old standards become out of date and new circumstances demand special abilities which are not yet widely recognized as necessary or not yet available in sufficient quantity.

Even a quick glance at the present world shows some gaps between needs and qualifications. For instance, two that have been recognized in most countries are in the nursing and teaching professions. Almost every-

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where there are not enough, and not well-trained enough, people working in these fields. However, the fact that these deficiencies are of wide concern gives hope that they may be remedied soon. It is generally recognized that there are not enough psychiatrists for the adequate treatment of mental disturbances even in those countries where medical practice is sufficiently advanced for such cases to be identified. This shortage, too, greatly concerns the authorities, and some progress is being made toward rectifying the situation. There are other fields in which the supply of technical training has not met the demand, but in most of them training has been or is to be stepped up appropriately.

Other aspects of the world situation, however, have changed so rapidly, so extensively and so recently that some of the new needs have hardly been recognized, much less met satisfactorily. In the more advanced countries, developments in the material sciences, within only one or two generations, have produced extensive changes in the social and institutional structure. Social complexity and social contacts have multiplied to a degree not conceivable even up to the early years of this century. The importance of the human sciences has increased accordingly, as they deal with the understanding of human relations and with the techniques of affecting those relations.

**There is plentiful evidence** of the great need for increased use of the human sciences in public affairs, whether local, national or international. It is usual to scoff at the students and exponents of these sciences as "half-baked," "impractical," even "disloyal" or "traitorous," and of course it is true that they are to some degree all these things—if "half-baked" means not knowing and not pretending to know all the answers; if "impractical" means not accepting present ways of doing things as necessarily permanent; if "disloyal" means being willing to give up *any* old ideas, certainties or devotions when something more beneficial to the human race becomes possible; and if "traitorous" means setting the same value on the welfare of all people everywhere. It is an inevitable result of the new understanding fostered by the human sciences that the values placed on various human behavior patterns are changing. Such changes, of course, will be regarded, by those who are not developing with the times, as disloyalty to old values or as impractical idealism.

In spite of these difficulties, the human sciences—psychology, psychiatry, sociology, cultural anthropology, education, etc.—are beginning to be recognized as practical and useful. During the Second World War the more advanced countries found real need for all these sciences both inside and outside their armed services; before the end of the war they had been found to be indispensable to the effective use of manpower, preservation of morale, strategic planning and to many other aspects of the war effort.

**Since the war,** vast new social developments have taken place, particularly in the field of international coöperation and coördination. The major examples are, of course, the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and certain regional, geographical and political organizations. Even within the British Commonwealth of Nations great changes have occurred in the political status of several of its members and the relationship of all of them has altered. While this has been going on, the processes of government have been increasing enormously in complexity and volume of work, and new social institutions have been proliferating rapidly.

This tremendous development has meant an unprecedented need for people to work in the social fields, the fields of human relations. The supply of trained human scientists is already grossly inadequate to meet the present demand. Whether because the need is not yet recognized, or because qualified personnel is not yet available, an economic commission of the United Nations may still meet and discuss a great variety of subjects covering the most diverse human concerns without advice from either social psychologists or cultural anthropologists, who are clearly the best-trained people in some of the areas under discussion.

This field of human relations is obviously the most important concern of the whole human race. Successful or unsuccessful operations in these areas will determine whether the human species survives, at least in anything like its present type of development. Fortunately, this crying need is not ignored everywhere. There is a bright side to the picture. Much of the basis for hope lies in somewhat isolated endeavors, but the total is impressive—as, for example, the current activities in the field of the human sciences.

¶ Several of the United Nations authorities have been active along these lines, notably the Social Department of the UN—UNESCO and WHO. UNESCO'S "Group Tensions Project" may prove to be the most far-reaching activity being undertaken within the entire UN structure. This project involves the study of the mechanics and dynamics of inter- and intra-group relations and includes detailed study of international conferences and assemblies.

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¶ The Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Tavistock Institute in London have been collaborating for some years in studies and publications in this field.

¶ In the summer of 1948 a great Mental Health Congress was held in London. Its subject was "Mental Health and World Citizenship"—the question of the ability of people to live together in peace in one world. More than 2,000 technically trained people attended that congress; about 5,000 had been preparing for it by studying and reporting on the items on its agenda for periods of a few months to more than a year. Out of the congress came a continuing international organization—the World Federation for Mental Health—which has been accorded official relationship with both UNESCO and WHO. National Committees for Mental Hygiene, Associations of Psychologists, Psychiatrists, Anthropologists, Sociologists, Educators, etc., are members of the World Federation.

¶ An important branch of the American Psychological Association—the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues—has now been active for some years.

These examples show that the human scientists, along with their brothers in the material sciences, are beginning to develop a degree of social responsibility. It remains for them to be used effectively and widely. Of course these human scientists need more experience. Their sciences are far from fully developed, but their abilities, compared, for instance, with those of the old-time diplomat, who tended to think and talk in terms of prestige and power and whose training was either in the classics or, more recently, as a "sound businessman," are very much more adaptable and effective in this entirely new kind of world.

In government agencies increasingly it is being found practical to get technical advice. For example, it is reported that in the US Soil Conservation Service, under the old methods, the average time required to set up a soil-conservation district was two years and eight months. The situation was studied by an anthropologist-sociologist and recommendations were made. Now the field technicians allow six months to obtain results that previously took thirty-two months.

There is still a fear, unfounded but persistent in some quarters, that academic young men, who may use a strange vocabulary and know little about farming techniques, are too impractical to deal effectively with farmers. But it must not be forgotten that the ability to adjust to the widest variety of circumstances is basic to the training of the human scientists, and that their work has now been proved to be effective.

Many other developments indicating an increasing use of technical advice in human relations could be found, enough to justify a reasonable hope that in the future fewer mistakes which produce antagonism and aggression between individuals, groups and nations will be made. Clearly there should be great concern everywhere about the caliber of the individuals who represent peoples in their foreign relationships, in embassies and consulates and in all international meetings, the UN, its commissions and committees, and in the specialized agencies. Perhaps the time has come to consider minimum qualifications for delegates to international organizations. Basic qualifications should be: a good working knowledge of the concepts and methods of normal and minor abnormal psychology, cultural anthropology, modern history and comparative religion, plus some reading in sociology.

Second, the development of our children concerns the whole race. They must be able to grow to a level of maturity, of civilization, which our generation has not attained. They must be able to deal better with their own aggressive pressures than their ancestors have been. They must be able to adjust more easily, and with fewer internal tensions, to the need for change. They must be tolerant where we have been rigid, and to love where we have hated. These adjustments are difficult because of our prejudices, but they can be made if we learn to take the advice of the human scientists as we do that of the structural engineer or the aeronautical designer.

**A complicating factor** is that psychologists give varying advice and change their minds frequently. Of course they do; their sciences are developing just as is airplane design or bio-physics. In the human-behavior area, however, many of us take for granted that there is one "right" way to behave under any given set of circumstances. This is entirely fallacious, of course, and simply comes from having had all our behavior in our early childhood classified as "good" or "bad," a most misleading and distorting method by which our elders tried to keep us under control. Even though the human scientists do change their attitudes, and do disagree, it is almost certain that their advice, on any matter within their competence, will be more reliable than that received from an unqualified person or from our own "natural" decisions, which are likely to arise from prejudices we do not even recognize.

Most people are still rather reluctant to take the advice of these workers in the human sciences—more reluctant than they are to take the advice, on a different level, of a bus driver or the pilot of a plane. Yet the status of the scientists is improving. Whether it is doing so fast enough to be of value in averting another war is for us to decide.

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# HAROLD L. ICKES: *Sr. Jose de Lequerica*

ON MAY 30 LAST, in commenting upon Secretary Acheson's statement that "the United States should shun the initiative in restoring full diplomatic relations with Spain," I predicted that Spain would persist in trying to insinuate herself, broken out as she has been with open Fascist sores, into the family of the democracies. This prediction still stands, although a fortnight ago, Spain was refused membership in the UN Food and Agriculture Organization. Following this deliberate rebuff, the World Bank declined to give her a loan.

One would think that even the shameless Franco might be discouraged by these two stinging rebukes, yet it cannot be doubted that he will keep on trying. Why should he not, so long as his Fascist twin, Salazar of Portugal, is working for him, to say nothing of the piddling Senator McCarran of Nevada; that veritable Machiavelli of Coca-Cola, James A. Farley; and other more or less distinguished or undistinguishable politicos, with private axes of their own to grind?

While our State Department continues to speak in *lingua diplomatica* about Franco the Fascist, it does not speak forthrightly. When Ambassador Ray Atherton was trying to pull Franco's wormy chestnuts out of the fire at Lake Success, Secretary Acheson himself felt it necessary to indulge in the double talk that I have quoted. He did not explain what "'shun the initiative" means on the lips of a clever trial lawyer who knows how to shade his words to conceal his thoughts. It certainly could not mean that Secretary Acheson's close friend, Mr. Atherton, knew the low, although undisclosed, opinion of his chief with respect to Dictator Franco. Neither could the Chase National Bank of New York have been aware that Mr. Acheson regarded the Franco regime as "a symbol of fascism" when it loaned to impoverished Spain 25 million good American dollars. It is also to be doubted that Admiral Richard L. Conolly knew how Secretary Acheson felt about Franco's Spain when he led a squadron of American warships to El Ferrol, Spain, apparently as a gesture of official good will.

The American citizen who does not want to play footie under the table with Franco may well continue to wonder just how sincere our State Department is with respect to him. Can it be that Mr. Acheson's brave but ambiguous words merely distract attention while others press toward a different goal? Just what did we mean when we sent the Spanish Ambassador back to Madrid to share in the protection afforded by Franco's 350,000 soldiers who eat the fat of the land while the workman and the peasant starve? We may have handed the accredited ambassador his hat, but we have had in Washington for well over a year a Franco minion of the rank of ambassador. He is Sr. José de Lequerica, who has a Spanish diplomatic passport and operates under the title of "Inspector of Spanish Foreign Service." He has taken over the Spanish Embassy, where he is as busy as a bee when not attending parties and courting members of Congress.

Señor de Lequerica has no official status in this country, according to the Department of State, but his presence is officially known. Is the State Department indulging in common-law diplomacy as one would in common-law marriage? This Spanish ambassador, alias "Inspector," does not lack supporters in the farce-comedy that he is playing with the State Department. Particular mention should be made of Señor Propper, Lieutenant Colonel Mendoza and Señor de Rafael, all of whom are serving Sr. de Lequerica in Washington, *sub rosa,* as they served him officially at Vichy. Señor Propper and Colonel Mendoza have been accepted as chargé d'affaires and military attaché, respectively. Señor de Rafael has no official status. Yet the State Department must have been aware that Propper came here after France had declared him *persona non grata.* And that he had conspicuously rendered every possible assistance to the Germans in North Africa.

**Americans have a right** to object to what is going on under the bushes with Spain. Double talk is one thing, but petting with a *de-facto* Spanish ambassador is another. Some still remember that, while at Vichy, de Lequerica gave a dinner in celebration of the Japanese victory at Corregidor. Both he and Propper should have their passports canceled forthwith. At the very least, de Lequerica should be required to register as a lobbyist, for that is just what he is, since he is not an accredited diplomat. He is just as much a lobbyist as is Charles Patrick Clark, the Washington lawyer who gets $50,000 a year as "Spanish Legal Counsel to the Division of Cultural Affairs."

Secretary Acheson should not pretend that Spain is not represented by an ambassador in Washington. One wonders whether, although "officially" we lack an ambassador in Madrid, we have there an American de-Lequerica under some such flyblown title as "Inspector of American Foreign Service." HAROLD L. ICKES

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# BOOKS IN REVIEW

## ART BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS

**by Lincoln Kirstein**

IN THE FOLLOWING columns appears the second annual list of books on the fine arts. Because space is limited, only those publications are included which can be recommended wholeheartedly or with only slight reservations. Even within this limitation, the list is certainly not exhaustive, and omission does not imply criticism.

No note, however flattering, can do justice to works resulting from years of study and thought, and the paragraphs below are offered more as information than evaluation. Even so, certain large efforts defy this treatment. Such is *The Psychology of Art*: "Museum without Walls" and "The Creative Act," by André Malraux (Bollingen Series XXIV, Pantheon Books; two vols., $25). It is our generation's most revealing criticism of world art, produced with great luxury and care in Switzerland. It will be reviewed here soon.

### GENERAL AND HISTORICAL

APPROACH TO GREEK ART, by Charles Seltman; 111 plates in half-tone (Studio Publications; $6).

A vigorous reappraisal, excluding architecture but including the often ignored lesser crafts, metal work, gems, ivories, coins and small bronzes. The author, refreshingly unimpressed by the dead hand of German nineteenth-century archeology, has ransacked unfamiliar collections for well-chosen and surprising pictures. His own dogmatism is challenging; he writes with the passionate authority of a sensible but sensitive connoisseur. Well-organized, written and produced.

ART AND LIFE IN AMERICA, by Oliver W. Larkin; 425 illustrations in halftone (Rinehart; $7.95).

"An introductory survey of the history of architecture, sculpture and painting, and to some degree of the so-called 'minor arts' in the United States." The author's original plan to his publishers is as modest as his tone throughout this huge book, the single most nearly complete record now available. The historical (socio-economic) bias is strong; the critical (esthetic-philosophical) treatment slighter. The attempt to balance chronology and personal or regional styles against individual peak achievement is manfully undertaken, and until somebody else solves this all but impossible problem of organization, Professor Larkin's study is the best one to give Europeans or Americans unfamiliar with the grand aspects of our visual culture.

RELIGIOUS ART: From the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century, by Emile Mâle; 48 plates (Pantheon Books; $4.50).

A drastic reduction of the four-volume French classic on ecclesiastical art from 1100 until after the Council of Trent into a series of compact individual studies with connecting passages by the author. Since it is unlikely that the original will soon be available in English, Americans may find this an invaluable guide into France at the height of her plastic expression. It is ill-designed and the plates are poor, but the text is more than recompense.

AN INTRODUCTION TO EUROPEAN PAINTING, by Eric Newton; 52 illustrations in gravure (Longmans, Green; $2.50).

This small, smartly produced book first appeared ten years ago in the Pelican series. It remains about the best short work—admirably organized, astute and packed with the considered and condensed opinions of a man of taste. It is modestly personal, vivid, unawed, but respectful of intention in various periods. A provocative chapter on art appreciation has been added; the plates are good.

MASTERPIECES OF SCULPTURE FROM THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, by Charles Seymour Jr.; 56 plates in gravure (Coward-McCann; $9.75).

Subtitled "Aspects of the Western Tradition," this wholly admirable collection of photographs, handsomely reproduced and neatly edited, is the most satisfactory book on European sculpture to be printed in America. Small bronzes and monumental medals are enlarged to take their just place alongside masterpieces on a larger scale. Shrewdly cut details illuminate whole views of single pieces, and the backs of certain ones are easier to see here than in their galleries. The entire range of bronze, cut and cast, the numerous means of marble-carving from full to low relief, can be studied with an ease that springs from the editor's affection for the whole field of sculpture.

L'ART OFFICIEL DE JULES GREVY A ALBERT LEBRUN, by Francis Jourdain; 175 illustrations in gravure (Editions "Le Point"; can be purchased at most foreign bookshops for about $2).

A wondrous book that is in danger of being overlooked. It is a superbly printed discussion of bad taste as exemplified by French official art, 1870-1900, at once wildly funny, sobering and terrifying. Official taste there (and here) is compounded of lubricity, patriotism, family-worship, kittenishness and licked oil-paint, in equal doses. The introductory essay pays full tribute to this influential style, and is a model of savage gravity.

LAYMAN'S GUIDE TO MODERN ART: Painting for a Scientific Age, by Mary Chalmers Rathbun and Bartlett H. Hayes Jr.; 117 plates in photo-offset; 18 plates in color (Oxford University Press; $4).

An optimistic appeal to the ordinary eye to become reconciled to apparent aberrations in contemporary art, by demonstrating the lack of any absolute norm. The proof is offered through a variety of vivid examples from many places and epochs. Cheerfully designed, brightly written, with good plates, *Layman's Guide* is a fine approach to the task of overcoming prejudices.

WHAT I AM PLEASED TO CALL MY EDUCATION, by Henry Watson Kent; 7 plates in collotype (The Grolier Club; $7.50).

Henry Watson Kent was a historic figure in the American museum world. Librarian of the Grolier Club, secretary of the Metropolitan for many years, he was a student of Bode in Berlin and master of many of our museum men. These memoirs of a pioneer in organ-

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ization and display, in the thought that changed nineteenth-century whatnot collections to legible demonstrations of art and science, show much of Kent's wit, honesty and useful knowledge. The book's production is a proper tribute to its hero's elegant taste.

INDIAN ART, edited by Sir Richard Winstedt; 16 plates in half-tone (Philosophical Library; $5).

A brief popular outline, useful as a first glimpse of an enormous field. The illustrations are broadly chosen from many collections, but the book is not attractively produced.

TRADITION IN SCULPTURE, by Alec Miller; 205 plates in half-tone (Studio Publications; $6.95).

An intelligent, over-all survey, with good plates and an excellent historical method, although the Orient is not included and the Near East and the Americas barely mentioned. The catholicity of the author's taste and his sensitivity to the European descent are the more surprising in the light of his own work, samples of which are mysteriously included. But they do not invalidate the richness of his thinking, his understanding of materials and processes, or his love of the medium. In spite of its imperfections, there is available no better general introduction.

## ESTHETICS

PRINCIPLES OF ART APPRECIATION, by Stephen C. Pepper; 16 plates in half-tone; 4 in color (Harcourt, Brace; $4.75).

A good guide for those who, with little direct esthetic comprehension, nevertheless possess a sense of history, a curiosity and a willingness to assimilate simple, well-organized abstract thinking in psychology and philosophy. If one allows that "appreciation" is neither a gift nor a mystery, that it can be learned, this book may do much to make clear the nature of creative visual experience, and lay foundations for personal preference, taste and pleasure beyond the accidental.

SELECTED CRITICAL STUDIES OF BAUDELAIRE, edited, with an Introduction, by D. Parmée (Cambridge University Press; $2).

A well-edited selection of the great poet's incomparable prose criticism, which continues to expose most such work as naïve or journalistic. Here are the powerful, lyric, full-length portraits of Constantin Guys and Delacroix, which at once defined modernity as we know it, idiosyncrasy as we suffer from it, and stated the revolutionary urban basis for a heroic Western Art. Baudelaire's references (to Wagner in his Paris debut; to Poe in his first European translation) provide an inexhaustible fund of ideas for contemporary consideration.

ART AND SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT: Historical Studies toward a Modern Revision of Their Antagonism, by Martin Johnson. Foreword by Walter de la Mare; 16 plates in half-tone (Columbia University Press; $3).

A stimulating collection of articles by a British atomic-research scientist relates twin aspects of creative measure, esthetic and scientific. Johnson gives concrete examples of imaginative stimulus through both structure and symbolism, drawing from the major and minor arts of Occident and Orient. He shows the historical failure to reconcile scientific and imaginative effort, and concludes with an excellent study of Leonardo as a scientist in art, and his use of the irrational and fantastic.

## PAINTING TECHNIQUE

THE LANGUAGE OF PAINTING, by Charles Johnson; 80 plates in half-tone (Cambridge University Press; $5).

This sensible and nicely detailed study, written by a Lecturer in London's National Gallery, explains the groundbase of pictures by illustrating general principles with particular works. He distinguishes between elements of vision and inspiration, structure and impression, linear and multi-dimensional design, and his insistence on specific examples reduces vagueness to a minimum. Much technical information is woven into the discussion. It is intended for the amateur or teacher rather than the artist.

THE LANGUAGE OF DRAWING AND PAINTING, by Arthur Pope; 65 plates in half-tone; 5 in color (Harvard University Press; $5).

Originally published twenty years ago, now revised and improved, this book provides a sound basis for rendering in paint and line, in terms of plastic form and color. It shows the modes of representation in traditional Western use, explains how they differ from those of the East, and substitutes for happy accident a variety of imitable recipes useful for a properly schooled background. A practising painter who ignores Pope may pay in disorderly idiosyncrasy. Before this method of strict limitations is dismissed as academic, it should patiently be swallowed in all its dry and patient logic. For, whatever it may not do, it will certainly protect professionals or people who may wish to paint from making fools of themselves. For the artist and teacher rather than the amateur.

## ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE AND THE SPIRIT OF MAN, by Joseph Hudnut (Harvard University Press; $4.50).

The Dean of the Faculty of Design at the Harvard Architectural School is a gracile writer, thinker and teacher. He represents the best of academic, eclectic thought, at once generous, reflective and suggestive. His two large divisions—"On Traditional and Modern Architecture" and "On the Architecture of Cities"—illuminate central problems of style, function, the place of the monumental in an unheroic era, together with progressive ideas in city planning. Modest, humorous and informed, this is an excellent book for the amateur attracted by splendid design as opposed to utilitarianism.

MEXICAN ARCHITECTURE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, by George Kubler; 468 illustrations, plus maps (Yale University Press; 2 vols., boxed, $15).

These sumptuous volumes are perfect presents for visitors to Mexico, and reward the careful tourist by making him aware of the extant glories of the chief plastic impact of Spain on the Americas. Professor Kubler writes with ease in his erudition. His work can be relished by amateurs as well as professional historians, for it makes us completely alive to local backgrounds in terms of population distribution, city planning, church politics, and construction methods. Civil and religious building, painting and sculpture, materials and human elements are handled with a simple luxury of detail.

THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW. Monthly; about 400 pages annually of text, color-plates, half-tones and gravure plates; charts, maps and plans; drawings, painting and sculpture (9-13 Queen Anne's Gate, London, S. W. 1, England; $6).

The preëminent architectural magazine in the world, edited with vast erudition, reckless irony, incomparable taste in every field of the controversial plastic arts. Recent special numbers on English canals and public houses should not

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be missed. The journal is admirably printed on various colored and coated stocks, with great typographical freedom in its large format. Here past meets present, and lives; present is judged by the most serene criteria. First-rate book reviews.

## FOLK ART

THE WOLF AND THE RAVEN, by Viola E. Garfield and Linn A. Forest; 67 illustrations in photo-offset (University of Washington Press; $3).

The tradition of Alaskan Indian totem-pole carving, illustrated by great examples in Saxman Totem Park, recently collected there from many sites and restored by Tlingit native artists. This excellent, compact study relates local mythology to handicraft and brings us close to this remote but monumental department of American art.

NEW MEXICO VILLAGE ARTS, by Roland F. Dickey. With 18 drawings in color and 40 in black and white by Lloyd Lózes Goff (University of New Mexico Press; $7).

A beautifully designed and printed book with charming illustrations relating ethnic and historical backgrounds to an immediate sense of contemporary usage. It looks and reads like a labor of love, not primarily scholarly, but incorporating much information on village home life, metal work, churches, textiles, painting and sculpture.

PICTORIAL FOLK ART: New England to California, by Alice Ford; 250 illustrations; 5 in color (Studio Publications; $6.95).

A well-illustrated and produced brief survey of the full range of folk expression in the United States, from New Bedford scrimshaw ivories to New Mexican religious painting. Useful picture captions supplement the compact text.

PROFILE ART THROUGH THE AGES, by R. L. Mégroz; 60 plates in half-tone; 140 illustrations in text (Philosophical Library; $7.50).

"A study of the use and significance of profile and silhouette from the stone age to puppet films." A delightful, excellently illustrated, English-produced book on an absorbing branch of the graphic arts, written and designed with fullness and charm. Particularly brilliant is the treatment of Lavatar's physiognomical outlines, and nineteenth-century silhouettes, the precursor of the camera portrait.

## MONOGRAPHS

THE DRAWINGS OF HENRY FUSELI, by Paul Ganz. With a Foreword by John Piper; 106 full-page half-tone plates; one in color; 13 cuts in text (Chanticleer Press; $8.50).

This magnificent book, all English-made, is perhaps the most exciting monograph of the year. Fuseli, a Swiss-naturalized Englishman, was admired by Blake and belonged to his spiritual family. A grand eccentric, part Michaelangelesque, part Mannerist, part mystic and a little mad, his drawings are literally and directly inspired by Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe and anticipate Wagner in grandiose concepts of the Niebelung. Fuseli was at once peculiar and beautiful, witty and weird, a magician in movement and anatomical precipitation; he is too little known here. The introduction is perceptive, both psychologically and historically.

LEONARDO DA VINCI: An Exhibition of His Scientific Achievements, by Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich; 100 plates in half-tone (Panold Masters, Ltd., Los Angeles; $1).

LEONARDO DA VINCI: Loan Exhibition. Introduction by W. R. Valentiner; 101 plates in half-tone (Los Angeles County Museum; $1).

These two seriously considered studies document the extraordinary show of Leonardo's work in art and science recently held in Los Angeles, demonstrating his influence on Western art and physics, aerodynamics and myth. Dr. Heydenreich's essay is particularly interesting; its illustrations are photographs of fine working models of Leonardo's inventions, realized from the notebooks, and available in no other English text.

## MODERN FREEDOM

AUTHORITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL, by Bertrand Russell (Simon and Schuster; $2).

BERTRAND RUSSELL is a distinguished heir of the Herculean tradition. With lucidity, common sense and a warm love of humanity, he has sought over the years to clear away the cobwebs that clutter the brain and obfuscate human thought. Aware, however, that a vacuum is no more productive than a web of superstitions, he has endeavored in addition to chart guidelines for the future. In this little book he applies both qualities to that perennial problem: the reconciliation of individual freedom with social order.

Historically, the resolution of this problem has been often urged in terms of mutual exclusion rather than reconciliation. Thus those who would make social order the chief or only goal argue from the obvious truth that men can live only as they are a part of a greater unity to the false conclusion that unity depends only on uniformity or unanimity. They insist upon a single loyalty and creed, and seek to deny the diversities that produce social change. To escape such stagnation, Russell argues, we must be willing to admit an element of turbulence into human life. Conflict is a necessary condition of progress. Those who plead the cause of absolute freedom, on the other hand, while giving scope to the play of individual initiative, forget that the absence of restraints invites the imposition of injustices. The drive for individuality may become the drive for domination, with consequent inequalities of power and privilege. Without control there is anarchy, and without freedom there is the dull monotony of a static world.

How, then, do we reconcile authority and the individual? What are the principles by which we may safely and profitably combine the coöperative and the competitive aspects of human association? Russell answers in terms of a division of spheres and functions. Government, in general, should control only those realms essential to stability: security (which involves civil liberties and economic and military security), justice (*i. e.*, equality) and conservation. Apart from these primary aims, government should encourage and create opportunities for private and group initiative. Throughout, the guiding principle must be *devolution*, leaving to smaller units all functions that do not prevent larger bodies from fulfilling their purpose.

The principle applies equally to the economic sphere. Nationalization, for example, may be the panacea for many economic ills, but it still leaves unsolved the relation of employees to the state, the question of self-government.

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In every case, Russell emphasizes, we must guard against the possession of absolute power. Democracy, with its crucial right of criticism, must be maintained. Without such corrective devices, there is no way to prevent the repressions of authority from destroying individual spontaneity and adventure, the "outlets that give joy and pride and splendor to human life."

Despite its brevity, which produces at times an unhappy absence of needed details, this is a book to read and ponder. Free men can take heart from it. Would-be despots can learn the error, and the inevitable failure, of their brutal and tragic ways. DAVID SPITZ

*David Spitz is assistant professor of Political Science at Ohio State University.*

## BRIEF COMMENT

**Next Step in Asia,** by John K. Fairbank, Harlan Cleveland, Edwin O. Reischauer, William L. Holland (The Harvard University Press; $1.50).

Four specialists on the Far East have combined their views in this useful pamphlet, which might be called a postmortem on the Kuomintang regime in China, and the failure of American policy there. For Secretary Acheson, who stated in the recent White Paper on China that nothing this country might have done "could have changed the result," the authors offer some important reference material on our sins of omission.

Fairbank believes the China experience has proved that "material means [food and goods, arms, ships and planes] are inadequate to defeat a social revolution which operates in the realm of the spirit and national sentiment and psychology as much as on the economic and military levels." His conclusions: Asia's farmers are "now ripe for social revolution" and who learns to lead them can win power; leadership can come only from natives of a country, not from foreigners; America can influence this leadership only by demonstrating more interest in improving the people's welfare than in combating Communism; America has the technical means and political heritage necessary to recover the initiative but lacks the will and spirit, thus far, to do so.

Cleveland examines the economic problems of the Far East and discusses imperative reforms. Reischauer considers the record in Japan and Korea, to conclude that, despite many gains, democracy in both countries has a very doubtful future. Holland makes an earnest plea for deeper study of Asiatic society in order to avoid repeating past negative actions which have driven the masses toward Communism. EDGAR SNOW

**The Best Novels and Stories of Eugene Manlove Rhodes.** Edited by Frank V. Dearing, with an Introduction by J. Frank Dobie (Houghton, Mifflin; $5).

Eugene Manlove Rhodes died 15 years ago, at the age of 65. He had been a part of the Old West, had loved and understood it, and had written of it honorably, with gusto and sensitivity. He died before Autry climbed back in the saddle again and before, to a generation of moppets crouched over radios, the slam of a Smith & Wesson had become associated with the sound of breakfast food being shot from guns.

For 25 years, from 1881 to 1906, Rhodes was a ranch hand, working with cattle and horses and lonely men. He was a reader as well as a rider; he rode bad horses with brilliant composure and he read good books whenever he could, often on the back of a quiet pony. He wrote of the literate cowboy, which is another way of saying he wrote of himself. This valuable collection of his novelettes and short stories, most of which originally appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*, restores to dignity and to its original fresh, raw colors, a Western way of American life now too often relegated to the Catskill cowboy and the Reno gaucho. One cannot read *Paso Por Aqui*, or *Bransford of Rainbow Range* ("The Little Eohippus"), or *Good Men and True*, or, for that matter, any of these exuberant, sad and sensitive tales, without realizing that this neglected writer is the best who ever wrote on the region. JOHN WOODBURN

**Education of a Humanist,** by Albert Guerard (The Harvard University Press; $5).

Dr. Guerard has for many years combined the occupations of author and college professor. Born in France and educated there and in Great Britain, he has spent most of his adult life in the United States, teaching in a number of institutions, chiefly Stanford University. Like a small Vesuvius he has poured out magazine articles and books, many of them explaining European civilization to Americans, and others setting forth his own ideas on literature and political and social problems. This book, his nineteenth, is a standard Guerard product, with essays in all his favorite fields.

## MUSIC: Metropolitan Opening

THE METROPOLITAN OPERA began its sixty-fifth season on November 21 with a revival of Strauss's "Der Rosenkavalier," under unprecedented circumstances. Months of conference had failed to produce a basic agreement between the Metropolitan board of directors and the stagehands' union. Either out of awe for the prestige of the Met and its power to rally public opinion (a power that became evident in the opera-labor impasse a year ago, when all 12 unions found it expedient to capitulate without obtaining any of the gains they sought) or out of the fatalistic conclusion that the Metropolitan cannot be dealt with like any other theatrical producer, the stagehands permitted the season to start with the contract still unsigned. Only a week before the opening, Local 802 of the American Federation of Musicians (the orchestra players' union) signed a contract whose single improvement was a promise from the company to provide an extra fortnight of employment in 1950-51 by extending the New York season from 18 to 20 weeks.

The issue of security, which precipitated last year's altercation and delayed this year's settlement, was still unresolved. When the unions acceded, in August, 1948, to the Metropolitan's request that their members continue for another season at the old pay scale, the board of directors agreed in return to canvass the possibility of setting up pensions for all the union employees of the Association. Since then the board has canvassed it, and has decided that a

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pension arrangement is not feasible, since the annual cost of maintaining it would run to about $100,000. In the face of a projected operating deficit of $250,000, the board is unwilling to increase its budget. To the unions, the argument would probably seem stronger if the Philharmonic-Symphony Society, which had a budget less than two-fifths the size of the Metropolitan last year and a deficit of $44,000, had not contributed $104,000 to its pension fund.

These matters, however, cast no pall over the opening-night performance. The public did not hear of them until the next day, and the management went ahead with its production under conditions that would have prevented any Broadway producer from raising the curtain or even turning on the house lights. The usual loyal audience was on hand—exactly the same people, it appeared, as last year—and Sherry's bar thrived better, on the whole, than Strauss's music.

The performance, to be truthful, was adequate in many of its musical aspects. Fritz Reiner (who had never conducted "Der Rosenkavalier" in New York before, though it is one of his specialties) gave the music of the orchestra a lovely Viennese lilt and a suffusion of the proper nostalgic sentimentality. Erna Berger, a German lyric soprano well known to collectors of foreign records, made an enchanting debut in the Sophie role. Risë Stevens was back in her most straightforward, least Hollywood-trimmed role, as the Rose Cavalier.

An inexplicable, but, for the Metropolitan, characteristic, piece of miscasting gave the important role of the Marschallin to Eleanor Steber, who proved to be largely inaudible in it. Once a delightful lyric soprano, Miss Steber has forced her voice into a strained, cloudy sound of late, and she was unable to do justice to a part made memorable by such great artists as Lotte Lehmann, Frieda Hempel and Frida Leider. With the role of the Marschallin in the repertory of Helen Traubel, Astrid Varnay, Rose Bampton, Irene Jessner and Stella Roman, only Frank St. Leger, who controls casting, can explain why Miss Steber was chosen.

Rudolf Bing, who succeeds Edward Johnson as general manager of the Metropolitan at the end of the present season, was on hand to see the production. However he may have judged Miss Steber's capacities, he must have had many a long, private thought about the sterility of a production that had so much less life on the stage than the fresh, youthful "Rosenkavalier" seen recently at the City Center.

**From** "Der Rosenkavalier" the Metropolitan proceeded in rapid succession to two other significant revivals. (An attempt to reanimate Saint-Saëns' "Samson et Dalila" with an insubstantial cast headed by

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Ramon Vinay and Miss Stevens ended in dismal failure.) "Manon Lescaut," Puccini's first successful opera, was restored after nearly twenty years, as a token of respect on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death. The singing was first-class, with Jussi Bjoerling making the most of a juicy tenor part and Dorothy Kirsten, at last, achieving the warmth and passionate utterance of a true singing-actress. But the production was again a source of consternation. For a wonder, the sets were new; but in the first two acts you never would have guessed it, for Krehan-Crayon, a television designer, had taken pains to make settings that looked exactly like those that are already in the warehouse. The third and fourth acts were better, though they seemed imaginative only in comparison with the others.

Verdi's "Simon Boccanegra," a noble work with many suggestions of "Otello," was presented in a manner that reflected credit upon the company. The cast included Astrid Varnay, who sang gloriously in her first Italian role at the Met. The voices brought the music magnificently to life, and Fritz Stiedry conducted with dignity and eloquence. Richard Tucker, Leonard Warren, Mihaly Szekely, and Giuseppe Valdengo comported themselves quietly and persuasively, and delivered their music in deeply moving fashion. As long as it can give an occasional performance like this, the Metropolitan is still worth salvaging.

CECIL SMITH

## MOVIES: Faulkner Problem Play

Few of William Faulkner's readers can have been happy about his last novel, *Intruder in the Dust*. It was an awkward book written to demonstrate an awkward point of view. Faulkner, a man of highly developed moral awareness, is sincere in his belief that the South has an inalienable mandate to make its peace with the Negro in its own time and with no interference or persuasion from outlanders; he does not recognize, certainly, the killing sterility of his credo that "we alone in the United States are a homogeneous people . . . that only from homogeneity comes anything . . . of desirable and lasting value." Nevertheless, his novel betrays him.

The plot is implausibly melodramatic even for a writer who customarily employs garish incident with an easy persuasiveness (a fresh grave is violated, not once but three times, in the span of a day). One principal character is a Negro, Lucas Beauchamp, whom an illegitimate but aristocratic heritage has endowed with both the appearance and the personality of an eagle. For decades, Beauchamp has been permitted—improbably, or at least most atypically—to display a royal contempt for white men in a community where Negroes are not permitted to lift their eyes. Only by being caught with a gun in his hand and a body at his feet is he finally brought to bay.

The other main figure is Chick, a high-school boy, through whose mind —as he desperately digs up corpses in an attempt to save Beauchamp from a lynch mob—passes a twisted panorama of Southern guilt and glory. The boy is haunted, but the ghosts are not his, they are Faulkner's. A third personality, Chick's uncle, is merely the author, walking by the boy's side and confusing him with a lecture that mixes civil rights and due process of law with a mystique of the blood that will never produce either. The book has beauty of detail—in insights and images—as has almost all of Faulkner's work, but in the whole it makes one wonder if his genius has been nourished by the long years of isolation in Oxford, Mississippi.

This novel M-G-M has brought to the screen with partial fidelity and an almost excessive reverence. The plot has been simplified (one murder and one midnight exhumation have been eliminated), and it is a reflection on Faulkner's craftsmanship that the tailoring has done his narrative no harm. On the other hand, the implications of the novel are made to fade. What remains are the statements that a small group of honorable Southerners, given luck and a most unusual set of circumstances, can frustrate the hunger of a lynch mob, and that as long as lynching remains even a possibility, the conscience of the South cannot be clean. That, to be fair, is quite a lot for a picture to say, but it only begins to carry out Faulkner's argument.

The film is admirably staged (in and around Oxford) by director Clarence Brown, but it was made by people who knew they were walking on eggs. Awe for Faulkner and a regard for the sensitivity of both North and South to the kind of discussion in hand produce a movie in which the characters move stiffly between guide ropes and recite lines that are placed in their mouths. The only actors who carry out their roles with relaxed conviction are Juano Hernandez, as Beauchamp, and Claude Jarman Jr., as the boy, Chick. The others, among them David Brian, Elizabeth Patterson and Will Geer, seem time after time to be catching themselves up, anxiously watching for signals as they go about their work.

It is yet true that "Intruder in the Dust" is a skillful, baleful thriller with overtones of the South's moldering conscience. It is a picture so well-intentioned that one is astonished by the inexcusable detail of mongrelizing Chick's Negro chum into a comic type whose eyes roll in the presence of tombstones. Faulkner does not make that kind of vulgar mistake.

**The popular theory** that Bob Hope is so irresistibly droll that he can entertain in a vacuum is again demonstrated in Paramount's "The Great Lover." This pasteboard container brings us America's most popular lapel-fiddler as the cicerone of a troop of priggish Boy Foresters, homeward bound from Paris on a liner that carries as co-passengers a homicidal

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millionaire (Roland Young) and a duchess (Rhonda Fleming) who grows amorous with drink. Hope's studio contract obliges him to share a dog-house with its hostile owner, to protect his virtue when the duchess has been at the champagne, and to go over the side of the ship on the anchor chain. Clowns can use such antique furniture for their japes; gag comics need newer and stronger props. It is pleasant to have Roland Young around again, plausible as ever.

**Hollywood's latest** sentimental and star-laden description of itself is "Dancing in the Dark," based (I don't know how closely) on the Kaufman-Dietz-Schwartz "The Bandwagon." William Powell and Adolphe Menjou trade insults, Jean Hersholt and Sid Grauman play themselves (so do Powell and Menjou, for that matter) and Betsy Drake sings and dances most attractively when the script permits. The picture is tuneful and gay with Technicolor; it tastes very much like a Hershey bar before breakfast—fine if you're young enough.

**A pleasant joke** of the current movie season is the pre-release history of RKO's "They Live by Night." This unpretentious gangster story with an almost perfect cast consisting of Farley Granger, Cathy O'Donnell, Howard da Silva and Jay C. Flippen, and directed with sensitivity and dispatch by Nicholas Ray, was shown to the critics in New York just about a year ago. Months later it opened in London, received the enthusiastic press it deserved (and would have received here) and, on the strength of that reception, finally opened in America.

As a result of this hot-potato behavior on the part of RKO, so many pictures have passed across the screen since I saw "They Live by Night" that I have forgotten its details. I remember my impression, though, that it is an honest and affecting picture. . . . "Black Magic" is also a "different" picture in that, despite its super-spectacle proportions, it has been given no opening at all, but is being sneaked circumspectly into neighborhood double bills. It was a wise move, for this costume idiocy directed by Gregory Ratoff and starring Orson Welles in the eye-popping role of Cagliostro would have collapsed under the pressure of the slightest publicity.

ROBERT HATCH

## BANDWAGON

### Sabotage on Saturday Night

Some of the papers appealed to the public to be sure to shut dripping faucets real tight to stop waste, but for every pint saved by a good citizen, a Communist will waste a dozen bathtubfuls and there are hordes of Communists. – *From Westbrook Pegler's syndicated column.*

### Another Language

An American might call it dumsey for it has none of the evanescence of the new-style musical. – *From a review of "Her Excellency" in the* New Statesman and Nation *(London).*

### "Free Air"

Twenty-five years ago, I estimated the life of a tire at 5,000 miles. In the entire length of this year's touring I did not find it necessary to change a tire or to add a pound of air. . . .

For all these advantages two American institutions which are often under attack deserve credit—local state government and free industry. – *Raymond Moley in* Newsweek.

### Them as Has, Gits

. . . The Golden Rule has been literally and figuratively Penney's backbone. . . . No one in the company makes a salary of more than $10,000 a year; top executives get a percentage of sales in addition to the maximum salary. . . . – *From* Trends, *published by the National Association of Manufacturers.*

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